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THE WORKS
OF
SHAKESPEARE

THE FAMOUS HISTORY
OF THE LIFE OF
KING HENRY VIII

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METHUEN AND CO.
36 ESSEX STREET: STRAND
LONDON

First Published in 1915

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INTRODUCTION

IN 1623, seven years after Shakespeare's death, "The Famous History of the Life of King Henry the Eight" with the running title "The Life of King Henry the Eight" appeared as the last of the Histories in Heminge and Condell's edition (the First Folio) of Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies. So far as we know, it had not previously been published or in any way associated with Shakespeare's name. It has, however, been traced by Tyrwhitt to Shakespeare's theatre and fellow-actors, if it is, as he suggested, the play during the representation of which the Globe Theatre was burnt to the ground on the 29th of June, 1613. The evidence is as follows:—

A letter from Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering (Harl. MS. 7002, fo. 268):—

• "London this last of June 1613.

"No longer since then yesterday, while Bourbege his companie were acting at y^e Globe the play of Hen. 8, and there shooting of certayne chambers in way of triumph; the fire catch'd & fastened upon the thatch of y^e house and there burned so furiously as it consumed the whole house & all in lesse than two houres (the people having enough to doe to save themselves)."

• *Letter from Sir Henry Wotton to his nephew, Sir Edmund Bacon* (Reliquiæ Wottoniæ, 1685, pp. 425-6):—

"Now, to let matters of state sleep, I will entertain you at the present with what hath happened this week at the Banks side. The King's Players had a new Play, called *All is true*, representing some principal pieces of the reign of *Henry the 8th*, which was set forth with many extraordinary Circumstances of Pomp and Majesty, even to the matting of the

Stage; the Knights of the Order, with their Georges and Garter, the Guards with their embroidered Coats, and the like: sufficient in truth within a while to make Greatness very familiar, if not ridiculous. Now, King *Henry* making a Masque at the Cardinal *Wolsey's* House, and certain Cannons being shot off at his entry, some of the Paper, or other stuff, wherewith one of them was stopped did light on the Thatch, where being thought at first but an idle smoak, and their Eyes more attentive to the show, it kindled inwardly, and ran round like a train, consuming within less than an hour the whole house to the very ground.

"This was the fatal period of that virtuous Fabrique; wherein yet nothing did perish but a few forsaken Cloaks; only one Man had his Breeches set on fire, that would perhaps have broyled him, if he had not by the benefit of a provident wit put it out with Bottle-Ale."

Chamberlain's letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, 8th of July, 1613 (*Winwood's Memorials*, iii. 469):—

"But the burning of the Globe a Playhouse on the Bankside on St. Peter's Day cannot escape you; which fell out by a peale of Chambers (that I know not upon what occasion were to be used in the play,) the Tampin or Stopple of one of them lighting in the Thatch that covered the House, burn'd it to the Ground in less than two Hours, with a fair Dwelling-house adjoyning; and it was a great Marvaile and fair Grace of God that the People had so little Harm, having but two narrow Doors to get out."

Edmund Howes, *Continuation of Stow's Chronicle*:—

"Also upon S. Peter's day last, the play-house or Theater called the *Globe*, upon the Banckside neere London, by negligent discharging of a peale of ordinance, close to the south side thereof, the Thatch tooke fier & the wind sodainly disperst y^e flame round about, & in a very short space y^e whole building was quite consumed, & no man hurt: the house being filled with people, to behold the play, viz. of *Henry the 8.* And the next spring it was new builded in far fairer manner than before."

Ben Jonson, *An Execration upon Vulcan* (*Underwoods*, LXII.):—

They made a Vulcan of a sheaf of reeds . . .
 But O those reeds ! thy mere disdain of them
 Made thee beget that cruel stratagem,
 Which some are pleased to style but thy mad prank,
 Against the Globe, the glory of the Bank ;
 Which, though it were the fort of the whole parish,
 Flanked with a ditch, and forced out of a marish,
 I saw with two poor chambers taken in,
 And razed ; ere thought could urge this might have been !
 See the World's ruins ! nothing but the piles
 Left, and wit since to cover it with tiles.

The date of this passage is unknown, but it must have been later than the spring of 1614 when the Globe was rebuilt.

*A Sonnett upon the pittifull burneing of the Globe Playhouse
 in London.*

Now sitt^e the downe, Melpomene,
 Wrapt in a sea-cole robe ;
 And tell the dolefull tragedie,
 That late was played at Globe :
 For noe man that can singe and saye,
 Was scard [*? scarred or upon*] on St. Peter's daye.
 Oh sorrow, pittifull sorrow, and yett all this is true.

All yow that please to understand,
 Come listen to my storye ;
 To see Death with his rakeing brande,
 Mongst such an auditorye :
 Regarding neither Cardinall's might,
 Nor yet the rugged face of Henry the eight.
 Oh sorrow &c.

This fearfull fire beganne above,
 A wonder strange and true ;
 And to the stage-howse did remove
 As round as Taylor's clewe ;
 And burnt [*? burned*] downe both beam and snagge,
 And did not spare the silken flagge.
 Oh sorrow &c.

Out runne the Knights, out runne the Lords,
 And there was great adoe ;
 Some lost their hatts, and some their swords ;
 Then out runne Burbidge too ;
 The reprobates thoughe druncke on munday,
 Pray'd for the Foole and Henry Condye.
 Oh sorrow &c.

The perry wiggs and drumme-heads frye,
 Like to a butter firkin ;
 A wofull burneing did betide
 To many a good buffe jerkin :
 Then with swolne lipps, like drunken Flemmings,
 Distressed stood old stuttering Heminges.
 Oh sorrow &c.

There are three stanzas more, needlessly coarse. The whole was published as "copied from an old manuscript volume of poems," in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Feb. 1816 (vol. 86, pt. i. p. 114).

The ballad seems genuine, though in the omitted stanzas there are a few points which look like the work of a literary forger anxious to use up all his materials. The fact that the fire began aloft might have been learnt from Howes and others; the advice to use tiles next time instead of thatch might have been suggested by Ben Jonson's statement that this was done, and the expedient for extinguishing a fire within reach, by Wotton's facetious allusion to bottle-ale.

On the other hand, a forger is not likely to have damaged his metre by the contracted forms, *scard* (st. i.) and *burnt* (st. iii.). The last line of stanza ii. seems to have come from some one with no ear and a bad memory; originally it may have run: "Nor rugged face of Henry eight." Lastly, the *animus* against the players, and the burlesque (in the o'erword) of the Prologue and of the title *All is True*, are best attributed to a contemporary. If this last reason is of as much weight as I believe, we may infer that the Prologue itself dates at least from the night of the fire.

On the whole it seems natural to conclude that the play acted on the 29th of June was essentially the same as that published in the folio of 1623. The subject, the magnificence of presentation, the incident of the masque, are the same in both, and both were in the possession of the same Company. Wotton indeed says that the title was *All is True*, but alternative titles were not uncommon, and in this case some such alternative title seems necessary to justify or explain the allusions to truth in the Prologue, and to give point to the words "all this is true" in the ballad. Gifford argued that a play written in 1601—the date originally assigned by Malone—could not

be called new in 1613, and asks who would have recognised *Henry VIII.* under the name of *All is Truth* (*sic*). But Malone was probably in error in dating the play so early as 1601 or even 1603, his later conjecture, and the title *Henry VIII.* is that given by Lorkins who wrote the day after the fire and by Howes whose preface to his Continuation of Stow's Chronicle is dated 1614. But it may be doubted whether Wotton's expression "a new play" must mean that it had never been acted before. To the argument that the accident which caused the fire is more likely to happen at a first performance than when the play had been frequently on the stage, it might be answered that in that case such an accident was more likely to occur at a rehearsal than at a performance, and that the carelessness of routine is quite as dangerous as inexperience. Again the chambers which caused the accident were fired in Act I. sc. iv. at line 49, and the spectators indifferent to "the idle smoke" may have kept their seats till the scene was over, but hardly longer. Now, Wotton's description seems to indicate more knowledge of the play than could have been gained by seeing the first act. A play may well be called new even when it has been running for a few days, and *Henry VIII.* was actually so called at its revival after the Restoration. Pepys in his Diary writes on the 26th of December, 1663: "By and by comes in Captain Ferrers to see us, and, among other talk, tells us of the goodness of the new play of *Henry VIII.*, which makes me think long till my time [sc. of abstention from plays] is out." On the hypothesis that the play had been acted two or three times before the burning of the theatre it is perhaps possible to explain the reference in the ballad quoted above to "the fool and Henry Condry." The mention of Henry Condell in such a connection may be due to the pleasure taken by the writer in exhibiting, even for a moment, a respectable man in questionable company, but the fool may be the actor who played the porter's part in the last act, and this part is not likely to have been known except from a previous performance. But the reference may mean only, as the Clarendon edition points out, that there was a player of fools' parts in the Company, not that there was a fool's part in the play. Halliwell had stated that "The meer circumstance of

there having been a Fool introduced into the play then in course of representation is of course a decisive proof that it was not Shakespeare's Henry the Eighth"; but it seems to me that the agreement between the ballad and the Prologue and between the Prologue and the play is so close that any interpretation of "the fool" in the ballad is preferable to inferring the presence of a professional fool in the play.

Another argument against the identity of the play of the burning and the play of the folio was advanced by Mr. Fleay. This is based on the price of admission and the description of the audience as given in the Prologue. According to Mr. Fleay the price of admission to the Globe was 2d., and the audience was of a lower class than that of the private house at Blackfriars. No doubt, in vacation, the Globe offered at a low price rough amusement to rough spectators, but this does not apply to plays in term time. A quotation from Lenton's poem of the *Young Gallant's Whirligig*, 1629 (given by E. Hood) shows that the spectators were sometimes even extravagantly dressed:

His satin garments and his sattin robe,
That hath so often visited the Globe.

Moreover, the ballad on which Mr. Fleay relied to prove that there was a fool in the play acted when the Globe was burned, proves much more clearly that the spectators were highly respectable, unless the line, "Out runne the Knights, out runne the Lords," is to be understood only of the actors of knights' and lords' parts.

It is probable that Blackfriars charged more than the Globe, but there is no evidence that at the Globe the highest price was 2d. or that the audiences there were of a lower class than those of other public theatres.

At the Hope on the Bank side, near the Globe, there were five different-priced seats, from sixpence to half-a-crown (Malone, *Historical Account of the English Stage*, Variorum ed. 1821, vol. iii. p. 76).

A shilling was the usual charge for "the gentlemen's room." This is the sum mentioned in the Prologue, and it may be worth noting that if the Prologue, as we have it, was spoken on the night of the burning, the naming of this sum is

an evidence that the play, however new, was not then represented for the first time, for at a first performance, two shillings, not one, was the usual charge. In this connection I cannot do better than quote from the admirable account given by Mr. Lawrence in his *Elizabethan Playhouse* (1912) the following passage (p. 11):—

“Except at the first performances of new plays when the ordinary rates of admission were doubled, prices at the public theatres during the strictly Shakespearian era ran from a penny to a shilling. An allusion in Nash’s *Martin’s Month’s Mind* shows that in 1589 admission to the Theater and the Curtain was a penny. This made the playgoer free of the yard, into which one and all hurried.

“‘In the playhouses in London,’ wrote Gosson in 1582, ‘it is the fashion of youthes to go first into the yarde, and to carry their eye through every gallery; then like unto ravens, when they spy the carion, thither they flye, and press as near to the fairest as they can.’ Ingress to the other parts could be obtained by external staircases, but an extra charge was subsequently enforced, according to the locality, the fee being collected during the performance by ‘gatherers,’ who were sometimes pressed into stage service as supernumeraries. Hence the reason why the top gallery is somewhat confusingly referred to in contemporary plays and pamphlets as ‘the penny gallery,’ ‘the two-penny gallery,’ and ‘the two-penny room.’ The charge for this part would be a penny, but the preliminary payment at the door made the total cost two-pence.”

Attempts have been made to connect the play with public events antecedent to the burning of the Globe. Thus it has been conjectured that it was performed or at least designed for performance before the Princess Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine who were married on St. Valentine’s day, 1613, and left England on the 25th of April following. Fourteen several plays were so presented and are duly set down in Lord Treasurer Stanhope’s account of all sums of money received and paid by him “within his Office” from Michaelmas, 1612, to Michaelmas, 1613. Six of these plays have been identified as Shakespeare’s—the titles of some are not those by which we now know them—but *Henry VIII.* is not mentioned, and in this case the argument from silence seems conclusive.

Owing to the compliments to Queen Elizabeth and the treatment of the characters of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, Malone supposed that the play, though not acted till 1613, was written in 1601. He afterwards changed the year to 1603, or as an alternative 1602, not "without giving any reasons" as the Clarendon edition asserts, but certainly without giving any of weight. "Our author," he says, "had produced so many plays in the preceding years, that it is not likely that King Henry VIII. was written before 1603;" and he adds that the subject may have been suggested to Shakespeare by a poem called the Life and Death of Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal, entered on the books of the Stationers' Company and published in 1599, and that "Rowley's King Henry VIII. [i.q. *When you see me you know me*] was published in 1605 probably with a view that it also might be confounded with Shakspeare's drama; and both it and Lord Cromwell were reprinted with the same fraudulent intention in 1613, in which year our author's play was revived with great splendour."

The question of authorship was not seriously investigated till the middle of the nineteenth century. Dr. Johnson indeed had suspected that the Prologue and Epilogue were not the work of Shakespeare—*non vultus, non color*—and had conjectured that they were supplied by the friendship or officiousness of Ben Jonson. Farmer agreed, adding that he thought he could now and then perceive Ben Jonson's hand in the dialogue. Previously, metrical peculiarities which distinguish *Henry VIII.* from Shakespeare's other plays had been noted by Richard Roderick, a minor poet, Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. His *Remarks on Shakespear* were published after his death in a sixth and posthumous edition of Edwards's *Canons of Criticism*. In this (pp. 225-28) he drew attention to the prevalence of a redundant syllable at the end of the line (Double or Feminine Endings) and of a pause after the seventh syllable, and to the fact that "the emphasis arising from the sense of the verse very often clashes with the cadence that would naturally result from the metre." By this last he seems to have meant only that a long or stressed syllable was often found where a short or unstressed might be expected, or, as some would have us say, that a *spondee* or *trochee* took the

place of the standard *iambus*. Roderick might easily have gone further and distinguished the passages marked by these peculiarities from the rest of the play, but he contented himself with maintaining that the differences existed and were intentional, though he professed himself unable to explain their object. He had, however, the merit of appealing to "sense," *i.e.* the sense of hearing "as well as to Reason"; "Let any one read aloud an hundred lines in any other Play [sc. of Shakespeare's], and an hundred in This; and, if he perceives not the tone and cadence of his own voice to be involuntarily altered in the latter case from what it was in the former, I would never advise him to give much credit to the information of his ears." •

Nothing more was heard of the subject till the appearance in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1850, of James Spedding's well-known paper, "Who Wrote Shakspeare's Henry VIII.?" A feeling that the festivity of the fifth act was inconsistent with the forecast of the Prologue reinforced by a casual remark of Tennyson's that many passages in *Henry VIII.* were very much in the manner of Fletcher induced him to make a thorough examination of the play, and this resulted in a clear conviction that at least two different hands had been employed in its composition, if not three; and that they had worked, not together, but alternately upon distinct portions of it. These two hands he believed to be Shakespeare and Fletcher, and the third, if there was a third, Beaumont. To do justice to his argument a few extracts from the paper are given. "The effect of this play as a whole is weak and disappointing. The truth is that the interest, instead of rising towards the end, falls away utterly, and leaves us in the last act among persons whom we scarcely know, and events for which we do not care. The strongest sympathies which have been awakened in us run opposite to the course of the action. Our sympathy is for the grief and goodness of Queen Katharine, while the course of the action requires us to entertain as a theme of joy and compensatory satisfaction the coronation of Anne Bullen and the birth of her daughter; which are in fact a part of Katharine's injury, and amount to little less than the ultimate triumph of wrong. For throughout the play the king's cause is not only

felt by us, but represented to us, as a bad one. We hear, indeed, of conscientious scruples as to the legality of his first marriage; but we are not made, nor indeed asked, to believe that they are sincere, or to recognise in his new marriage either the hand of Providence or the consummation of any worthy object, or the victory of any of those more common frailties of humanity with which we can sympathise. The mere caprice of passion drives the king into the commission of what seems a great iniquity; our compassion for the victim of it is elaborately excited; no attempt is made to awaken any counter-sympathy for *him*: yet his passion has its way, and is crowned with all felicity, present and to come. The effect is much like that which would have been produced by *The Winter's Tale* if Hermione had died in the fourth act in consequence of the jealous tyranny of Leontes, and the play had ended with the coronation of a new queen and the christening of a new heir, no period of remorse intervening. It is as if Nathan's rebuke to David had ended, not with the doom of death to the child just born, but with a prophetic promise of the felicities of Solomon. . . . I know no other play in Shakspeare which is chargeable with a fault like this, none in which the moral sympathy of the spectator is not carried along with the main current of action to the end."

The principles on which Spedding distinguished between Shakspeare's work and Fletcher's may be gathered from his remarks on the first three scenes of Act I.: "The opening of the play—the conversation between Buckingham, Norfolk, and Abergavenny,—seemed to have the full stamp of Shakspeare, in his latest manner: the same close-packed expression; the same life, and reality, and freshness, the same rapid and abrupt turnings of thought, so quick that language can hardly follow fast enough; the same impatient activity of intellect and fancy, which having once disclosed an idea cannot wait to work it orderly out; the same daring confidence in the resources of language, which plunges headlong into a sentence without knowing how it is to come forth; the same careless metre which disdains to produce its harmonious effects by the ordinary devices, yet is evidently subject to a master of harmony; the same entire freedom from book-language and common-

place ; all the qualities, in short, which distinguish the magical hand which has never yet been successfully imitated.

"In the scene in the council-chamber which follows (Act I. sc. ii.), where the characters of Katharine and Wolsey are brought out, I found the same characteristics equally strong.

"But the instant I entered upon the third scene, in which the Lord Chamberlain, Lord Sands, and Lord Lovel converse, I was conscious of a total change. I felt as if I had passed suddenly out of the language of nature into the language of the stage, or of some conventional mode of conversation. The structure of the verse was quite different and full of mannerism. The expression became suddenly diffuse and languid. The wit wanted mirth and character. And all this was equally true of the supper scene which closes the first act."

In the interests of "those who are less quick in perceiving the finer rhythmical effects," Spedding appeals to "reason," as Roderick calls it, as well as "sense." By "reason" Roderick means merely the use of statistics, and Spedding duly notes that in the scenes which on surer grounds he attributes to Fletcher at least half of the lines have double endings, while in the other scenes the proportion of double endings is, as in *Cymbeline* and *The Winter's Tale*, on an average, no more than one in three.

In confirmation of Spedding's results, Samuel Hickson, who had worked on the subject independently, published in *Notes and Queries* (Ser. i., vol. iii. p. 33) a short list of expressions common to Fletcher and the non-Shakespearean parts of *Henry VIII.*, and rarely if ever found elsewhere. Such are the use of *one* as a substantive, of *thousand* without an article, and of *else* at the end of a clause. The following table drawn up by Hickson is accepted by Spedding as a short and clear statement of his own conclusions (see *Gentleman's Magazine*, Oct. 1850):—

Act I. scene i. Shakspeare.

ii. "

iii. Fletcher.

[iv. "]

- Act II. scene i. Fletcher. •
- ii. „
- iii. Shakspeare.
- iv. „
- „ III. i. Fletcher.
- ii. Shakspeare (ending with “what appetite
you have”).
- ii. Fletcher (beginning from the above).
- „ IV. i. „
- ii. „
- „ V. i. Shakspeare.
- ii. Fletcher.
- iii. „
- iv. = iv. v. Fletcher.
- Prologue and Epilogue, „

Spedding suggested that Act III. sc. ii. was “a scene by another hand perhaps which Shakspeare had only re-modelled, or a scene by Shakspeare which another hand had worked upon to make it fit the place”; that Act IV. may be the joint work of Beaumont and Fletcher, the coronation and the character of Wolsey being probably Beaumont’s share; and that Act V. sc. i. and the beginning of sc. ii. is like “a genuine piece of Shakspeare’s work spoilt by being introduced where it has no business.”

So far Spedding was on sure ground. Rhythm and phrase and the economy of imagination which elaborates commonplace illustrations are evidences that the greater part of the play was written by Fletcher. But when and why and by whom its incongruous splendours were combined are different, and in default of evidence unanswerable questions. Spedding offers “a bold conjecture,” *viz.* that Shakespeare planned a great historical drama to include Katharine’s divorce, Wolsey’s fall, Cranmer’s rise, Anne Bullen’s coronation, and the final separation of the English from the Romish Church; that he had written perhaps three acts, and finding his fellows of the Globe in need of a new play to honour the marriage of the Lady Elizabeth, had handed them his MS., and that Fletcher, to whom it was entrusted, turned out a splendid historical masque or show-play, expanding the three acts into five by

interspersing scenes of show and magnificence, passages of description, and long poetical conversations, and dropping all allusion to the great ecclesiastical revolution which he could not manage, and for which he had no materials supplied him.

It is only at two points that this conjecture touches known facts, namely, the occasion of the play and the date. A play could hardly be called new on the 2nd of July, if it was acted in honour of a marriage that took place on the 14th of February. At the time of the burning of the Globe the Lady Elizabeth was no longer in England; she began her journey on the 10th of April and reached Flushing on the 29th. It may of course have been called new because it was new at the Globe though previously presented at Court, but in that case it would have appeared in Lord Treasurer Stanhope's list of plays so acted.

In the *Renaissance Shakespeare* (New York, 1910) Prof. Dowden proposed a modification of Spedding's theory which is free from these defects. He suggested that the decorative splendour of *Henry VIII.* may have been derived from the court masques of the time. The masquers of Inner Temple and Gray's Inn reached Whitehall by water in barges like the masquers at Cardinal Wolsey's banquet. Fletcher's characteristic allusion to the Indian in Act V. may have been intended to recall the procession of masquers of the Inner Temple and Lincoln's Inn who were attended by Indian torch-bearers, the staves of the torches being "great canes all over gilded." However this may be, "in the spring of the year 1613 it may well have occurred to those who managed the Globe that the London people who could not obtain admission to Whitehall might be glad to witness a coronation, a masque, and a royal baptism on the stage, and all at the price of a shilling."

Like most competent critics Prof. Dowden agrees with Spedding that it seems reasonable that Fletcher arranged the general scheme or plan of the play. "It has," he says, "no dramatic centre; no ascent, no culmination, no subsidence. The tragedy of Buckingham is succeeded by the tragedy of Wolsey, and this by the tragedy of Queen Katharine; then the play closes with triumph and rejoicings. The fifth act, for one who has been deeply interested in the story of the

Cardinal, is an artistic impertinence." The unity of the play such as it is does not arise from the relation of its parts to each other. It is only discoverable on analysis, and is due to the fact that the events presented illustrate the spirit of the time, and the course of history—stepping-stones from the old to the new. As Prof. Dowden says: "If the dominant facts of the reign were the ruin of feudalism, the growth of a great monarchy, the fall of Catholicism, and the establishment of the reformed faith, we can discover these facts in the Chronicle history. . . . Thus, in a sense, the nation of England becomes the protagonist of the play, and, though we sympathise with the sorrows and afflictions of this individual or that, once exalted but inevitably overwhelmed by the law of national evolution, we must needs close our survey of the reign with a chant of triumph. This is, indeed, a coherent conception, but it does not lend itself to the purposes of drama. And it was not with the aid of philosophical conceptions such as this that Shakespeare created his plays."

I may add that, in Dowden's opinion, Shakespeare and Fletcher may have worked together, Shakespeare supplying the opening of the play, Fletcher the close, and Shakespeare again the scenes introducing the chief characters. Thus though Gardiner and Anne Bullen appear for the first time in scenes by Fletcher, Anne is wholly and Gardiner almost silent.

A conjecture of Mr. Fleay's (1876) agreed with Spedding's in attributing the original design to Shakespeare. "Is it not," he says, "probable that Shakespeare originally wrote a complete play; that part of the MS. was burnt in the Globe fire of 1613; that Fletcher was employed to re-write this part; that in doing this he used such material as he recollected from the hearing of Shakespeare's play? This would account for the superiority of his work here over that elsewhere."

If the MS. shared the fate of the few forsaken cloaks Wotton might have said so. The loss was more serious than the singeing of one man's breeches; but his attitude is not sympathetic.

A further development of Fleay's theory, or rather its reconstruction with added elements, is given in an interesting

and important paper by Mr. R. Boyle (New Shak. Soc. Trans. 1880-86), but for this a mutilation of the MS. is not sufficient; the destruction must have been complete. He aims at proving "that the play before us was not written by Fletcher and Shakspeare, but by Fletcher and Massinger, to supply the place of the lost Shakspeare play, *All is True*, destroyed in the Globe fire of 1613, and that it was not produced before 1616, probably not till 1617." A brief and inadequate summary of his argument must suffice. The editors of the First Folio admitted plays not wholly Shakespeare's, *Titus Andronicus*, *Henry VI.*, *Taming of the Shrew*, *Troilus and Cressida*, and left out *Pericles* which is partly his; they may therefore have included *Henry VIII.*, though it is wholly written by others. Massinger was in the habit of alluding to contemporary events, and in *Henry VIII.* we have allusions to the object and magnificence of Lord Hay's embassy to France in 1616, to the state of the cloth trade, and to the indignation aroused by benevolences. Again the weak endings in Massinger are like those in *Henry VIII.*; and there are certain stage tricks and expedients, and many similes and illustrative figures common to *Henry VIII.* and to Massinger's known work. Mr. Boyle suggested that Massinger's scheme was spoilt by Fletcher, as when he diverted attention from Wolsey by intruding Buckingham's dying speech, and that the authors interfered with each other's work in the interests of their several contributions.

The force of his reasonings is somewhat weakened by the following considerations. The editors of the First Folio admitted plays not wholly by Shakespeare, and *Henry VIII.* may be such a play. Their rejection of *Pericles*, which is partly his, does not show a tendency to include the apocryphal. The passages supposed to refer to events in the reign of James I. are derived from Holinshed's *Henry VIII.* or from Fox's *Acts and Monuments*. Massinger imitated Shakespeare's versification and borrowed freely from his genuine works.

As the Clarendon Press edition will be in the hands of all serious students, its editor's conclusions may be given briefly. He says: "We know of no instance in which he [Shakespeare]

admitted the co-operation of another writer to complete what he had himself begun . . . while it may appear to some not sufficiently certain that Mr. Boyle has identified Massinger as the author of the parts he attributes to him, he must be allowed to have given excellent reasons for concluding that they were not written by Shakespeare." Dr. Wright also gives a list of un-Shakespearean words and phrases, and notes that "these occur in all parts of the play, and not merely in those which Mr. Spedding assigns to Fletcher."

I venture the comment that a few of these words and phrases are un-Shakespearean only in this sense, that they do not occur in Shakespeare's other plays—in fact, they do not, so far as is known, occur anywhere else; but they are not wholly unlike what Shakespeare might have used, *e.g.* papers (I. i. 80), out worths (I. i. 123), self-mettle (I. i. 134), mounting his eyes (I. ii. 205). But it is likely that even the most Shakespearean scenes have been tampered with; they look to me like parts of a ruin somewhat ruthlessly restored.

From these and other permutations and combinations of facts and fancies one thing seems to emerge clearly, that two-thirds of *Henry VIII.* was written by Fletcher. This would have been even more generally recognised than at present had not the passage beginning "Farewell, a long farewell" been ascribed to Shakespeare in books used by schoolboys. In the absence of a sense of style and an ear for rhythm no internal evidence can obliterate the impressions of childhood. It is vain to point out that "a long farewell" though not peculiar to Fletcher is one of his most cherished phrases, that the comparison of human life to vegetation, though as old as Homer, received the Fletcherian hall-mark when worked out to exhaustion, and the process of decay trisected and dated, as by a townsman, to-day . . . to-morrow . . . the third day. Again the rhythm is Fletcher's in the opinion of those who are qualified to judge and the application of metrical tests confirms their judgment. In spite of Swinburne's aspersions on finger-counters and figure-casters, the presence of light, weak, and double endings in certain writings and in varying proportions is a matter of fact, and the proportions can be arranged as statistics which will not mislead experts. Neither

will they inform the public. Roderick's appeal to the ear is as likely to be effective as the display of a red lamp to the colour-blind. Most people are bad judges of rhythm, and can no more be taught to determine authorship by the application of metrical tests than an old-world criminal could be taught to read by learning his neck-verse by heart. The fact is, neither the proportion of double endings nor the presence or absence of weak endings makes the real difference between Shakespeare's work and Fletcher's. Fletcher could have reduced the number of his double endings but he could not have written like Shakespeare. A few double-ended lines of Fletcher's could not be mistaken for Shakespeare's work, or a few double-ended lines of Shakespeare's for Fletcher's. In Shakespeare the rhythm is the meaning and the emotion of the speaker expressed by sound; it changes with every change of feeling, with every hesitation and impulse; and it is always beautiful in itself. Fletcher's lines have the motion of a cradle. Even when the meaning is incomplete they pause as if for breath at the end. As regards rhythm, his lines are self-contained, and though they are not wholly without a certain kind of variety due to internal pauses, yet they are different only because they are made so, not because the changes are significant. The general effect is that of a mould into which all manner of materials may be poured at pleasure.

If Fletcher wrote the greater part of the play, it seems reasonable to suppose that the general design was his also. Whether he collaborated with a greater playwright or completed that playwright's draught of a few scenes, or replaced what was lost or destroyed by fire, and forgotten by actors, can neither be proved nor disproved without further evidence. But who was the other playwright? The evidence of the Folio in favour of Shakespeare is confirmed by the general excellence of the rhythm. Massinger's work does not seem to me so uniformly good. His metre is the work of a man who made variety an end in itself instead of securing variety by permitting the meaning and the rhythm to go hand in hand. But if Shakespeare originally wrote the first two scenes of the first act and the third and fourth of the second, I

am convinced that Fletcher (or possibly Massinger) made certain alterations which in the absence of a more complimentary illustration may be compared to the conjectural emendations of Bishop Wordsworth. I append a list, far from complete, of phrases and usages of words which occur in *Henry VIII.* and are, almost without exception, very common in Fletcher. Some are to be found in other writers and especially in Massinger. It is known that Fletcher and Massinger worked together, but whether a particular phrase in Massinger is due to Fletcher's interposition is a matter I do not presume to decide. All dramatists of the time had much in common, but the points I have noted seem to me of the nature of mannerisms and affectations.

Act I. ii. 214 : "to the height."

Beaumont and Fletcher, *Philaster*, II. (Cam. i. 102) : "Do it to the height"; *Custom of the Country*, III. v. (Cam. i. 348) : "tempted to the height"; *ibid.* v. i. (Cam. i. 371) : "Now to the height is punished"; *Rule a Wife*, IV. (Cam. iii. 214) : "moulded to the height"; *Prophetess*, II. iii. (Cam. v. 345) : "I will punish His perjury to the height"; *Double Marriage*, III. (Cam. vi. 355) : "handled to the height"; *ibid.* v. (Cam. vi. 390) : "pleasures infinite, and to the height"; *Womans Prize*, I. ii. (Cam. VIII. 11) : "let's wind 'em to the height."

Act I. iii. 41 : "has no fellow."

Beaumont and Fletcher, *Valentinian*, v. v. (Cam. iv. 85) : "A good Grace hath no fellow"; *Knight of Malta*, III. i. (Cam. vii. 116) : "the Soldier has no fellow" (three times); *Women Pleas'd*, III. ii. (Cam. vii. 250) : "A Tithe-Pig has no fellow."

Act I. iii. 52 : "new legs and lame ones," cf. I. iii. 52 : "a supper and a great one"; II. i. 119 : "my trial and . . . a noble one"; III. i. 126 : "a wife, a true one"; III. ii. 102 : "An heretic, an arch one"; III. ii. 438 : "a way . . . A sure and safe one"; IV. i. 55 : "stars indeed, And sometimes falling ones"; IV. ii. : "a scholar, and a ripe and good one"; V. iv. 7 : "crab-tree staves, and strong ones."

Beaumont and Fletcher, *Elder Brother*, III. i. (Cam. ii. 21) : "a Fortune, a large and full one"; *Spanish Curate*, I. i. (Cam. ii. 66) : "Your Steward sir?—Yes and a provident one"; *ibid.* IV. vii. (Cam. ii. 127) : "a Nunnery, a fair one"; *Wit with-*

out Money, III. (Cam. ii. 180): "clothes and rich ones"; *Beggars Bush*, III. iii. (Cam. ii. 250): "some drink, some good drink"; *Mad Lover*, IV. (Cam. iii. 52): "an hour to stay, a short one"; *Rule a Wife*, I. (Cam. iii. 170): "a Sword, a good one"; "six oaths at once, and whole ones"; *ibid.* (Cam. iii. 180): "a Husband, and a good one"; *Valentinian*, III. iii. (Cam. iv. 50): "a way to do it, and a safe one"; "an Enemy, a wicked one"; *Monsieur Thomas*, IV. ii. (Cam. iv. 145): "a scruple . . . and a main one"; *Wild-geese Chase*, I. iii. (Cam. iv. 325): "a bounteous Father's life, a long one"; *The Pilgrim*, V. iii. (Cam. v. 219): "sundry services and fair ones"; *Queen of Corinth*, I. iii. (Cam. vi. 12): "verses too, and good ones"; *Loves Pilgrimage*, III. ii. (Cam. vi. 280): "a woman, and a fair one"; *Double Marriage*, II. (Cam. vi. 338): "a sail boy, and a right one"; *Womans Prize*, II. v. (Cam. viii. 33): "Sausages, and smoak'd ones"; *ibid.* II. vi. (Cam. viii. 39): "a Supper made 'em, and a large one"; *ibid.* IV. iv. (Cam. viii. 70): "a Woman, and a vow'd one."

Act I. iii. 59: "has" = he has. This is sometimes explained as the omission of the subject when it can be readily supplied.

Beaumont and Fletcher, *passim*, e.g. *Women Pleas'd*, II. v. (Cam. vii. 257): "what shall I do? 'has broke my law, abus'd me."

Act I. iii. 65: "We shall be late else," *i.e.* if you do not come. "Else" is the last word of its clause and is equivalent to a negative protasis; II. ii. 23: "he'll never know himself else"; II. ii. 135: "I will have none so near else"; IV. ii. 48: "I were malicious else"; V. v. 75: "She will be sick else." In II. ii. 115: "God forbid else," cf. *All's Well*, III. v. 77, the meaning is different, *viz.* God forbid that it should not be so; *Tempest*, I. ii. 350: "I had peopled else," etc., is similar, but the position of "else" is different.

Beaumont and Fletcher, *Humourous Lieutenant*, IV. iii. (Cam. ii. 342): "I am ashes else"; *Rule a Wife*, I. i. (Cam. iii. 180): "He were base else"; *Valentinian*, V. ii. (Cam. iv. 78): "Hold me; or I shall burst else"; *Wildgoose Chase*, V. v. (Cam. iv. 385): "you are paid else"; *Wife for a Moneth*, III. (Cam. v. 33): "You will make me bash . . ."

else"; *The Pilgrim*, IV. i. (Cam. v. 199): "I am wide else"; *ibid.* III. v. (Cam. v. 219): "we are lost else"; *The Captain*, II. ii. (Cam. v. 261): "I dare not venture to bring him else"; "we shall hear worse else"; "purge thy wit which would break out else"; *ibid.* III. iii. (Cam. v. 267): "Thou wilt spoil me else"; III. iv.: "I shall grow here still else"; IV. i.: "I would be loth to leave you thus else"; IV. ii.: "they will not be Drunk till mid-night else"; IV. iv.: "H'as sworn to pay you else."

Act I. iv. 13, 23, 44, etc.: 'em = them. Not found in the non-Fletcherian parts. Beaumont and Fletcher, *Bonduca*, I. i. (Cam. vi. 80): "Caesar's soft soul dwells in 'em . . . got 'em . . . Pleasure nurst 'em . . . we have beat 'em, Nennius scattered 'em . . . songs to shame 'em . . . a woman beat 'em." Common in all the plays.

Act II. i. 28: "Much He spoke, and learnedly"; I. 42: "sent thither, and in haste too"; I. 46: "noted And generally"; I. 49: "will find employment, And far enough from court too"; cf. II. i. 160; II. ii. 46; III. ii. 361; V. iv. 83: this use of an adverb joined to its verb by *and*, *but*, etc., is much rarer in Shakespeare than in Fletcher.

Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Captain*, I. i. (Cam. v. 233): "thou lyeest and basely"; *Humourous Lieutenant*, I. i. (Cam. ii. 290): "She must be known, and suddenly"; IV. iv. (Cam. ii. 346): "have fallen, and foully"; *Valentinian*, V. vi. (Cam. iv. 86): "Lose such a noble wife, and wilfully"; *The Chances*, III. iv. (Cam. iv. 220): "You may believe now."—"Yes, I do, and strongly"; *Bloody Brothers*, I. i. (Cam. iv. 249): "protected, and by great ones"; III. i. (Cam. iv. 280): "execute my will, and suddenly."

Act II. i. 60: "sink" [= ruin, here or hereafter] followed by a personal pronoun as object, cf. II. i. 131.

Beaumont and Fletcher, *Philaster*, III. (Cam. i. 113): "Oh! how they cast to sink it"; *Custom of the Country*, III. ii. (Cam. i. 335): "to shew me happy, And then again to sink me"; *Beggars Bush*, I. ii. (Cam. ii. 216): "Sink him not in the end"; V. ii. (Cam. ii. 273): "may impiety . . . sink me and suddenly"; *Humourous Lieutenant*, IV. i. (Cam. ii. 335): "And cast long furrows in my face to sink me"; *Loves Pilgrimage*, III. ii. (Cam. vi. 274): "You would ill cover an

offence might sink ye "; *Double Marriage*, IV. (Cam. vi. 385): "though . . . Her bloody will meet with my life, and sink it"; *Women Pleas'd*, I. iii. (Cam. vii. 252): "And let no danger sink thee."

Act II. i. 57: "lose" = forget. Perhaps also in IV. ii. 102: "will not lose Her wonted greatness."

Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Captain*, I. iii. (Cam. v. 241): "For as I hear them, so I lose them"; *Monsieur Thomas*, I. iii. (Cam. iv. 105): "And as we look on shapes of painted devils . . . But with the next new object lose 'em, so If this be foul, ye may forget it"; *The Chances*, I. i. (Cam. iv. 177): "But as she came a strong Report unto me So the next Fame shall lose her" = cause her to be forgotten.

Act II. i. 65 and V. iii. 47: "Be what they will"; I. iii. 4: "let 'em be unmanly"; IV. ii. 146: "let him be a noble"; the parenthesis is equivalent to a concessive clause, "although he were," etc.

Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Chances*, I. xi. (Cam. iv. 191): "He's safe. Be what he will and let his foes be devils"; *Spanish Curate*, III. ii. (Cam. ii. 96): "one you know not, Let it be who it will"; *Monsieur Thomas*, V. vi. (Cam. iv. 166): "Let her be what she will, she will undo thee"; *The Pilgrim*, I. i. (Cam. v. 156): "Let him be what he will: he was a beggar, And there I'll leave him"; *The Captain*, I. i. (Cam. v. 233): "Thou lvest, and basely, Be what thou wilt"; *The Prophetess*, I. ii. (Cam. v. 323): "Let him be what he will, base, old or crooked, He shall have me"; *ibid.* III. iii. (Cam. v. 357): "Let it be ne're so poor, ne're so despis'd"; "Let him be what he will."

Act II. ii. 41: "this main end"; III. i. 93: "your main cause"; III. i. 215: "this main secret"; IV. i. 31: "the main assent"; where "main" means strong, important, etc., though in the first example the sense may be "chief," which is the usual meaning in Shakespeare.

Beaumont and Fletcher, *Mad Lover*, III. i. (Cam. iii. 32): "'Tis a main work and full of fear"; *Maid in the Mill*, III. i. (Cam. vii. 36): "so main a person"; *Women Pleas'd*, I. ii. (Cam. vii. 245): "'Tis a main miracle to feed this villain." Very common.

Act III. ii. 351 : "a long farewell."

Beaumont and Fletcher, *Loyal Subject*, I. iii. (Cam. iii. 84) : "A long farewell I give thee" ; *Little French Lawyer*, v. (Cam. iii. 444) : "farewel wench, A long farewell from all that ever knew thee" ; *Valentinian*, III. i. (Cam. iv. 40) : "Now go forever from me"—"Long farewell, sir" ; *Bonduca*, IV. iv. (Cam. vi. 141) : "A long farewell to this world" ; *Double Marriage*, III. (Cam. vi. 372) : "Farewel Sir, like obedience, thus I leave you, My long farewell" ; *Womans Prize*, v. ii. (Cam. viii. 83) : "Farewel:"—"A long farewell."

Act III. ii. 381 : "The king has cur'd me, I humbly thank his grace." Such phrases as "I thank him" usually parenthetical and ironical, are common in Fletcher.

Beaumont and Fletcher, *Wit without Money*, I. (Cam. ii. 154) : "dispatcht my poor annuity, I thank him" ; *Mad Lover*, I. (Cam. iii. 3) : "Begin 'em if he dare again ; I'll thank him" ; *Wild-geese Chase*, I. iii. (Cam. iv. 323) : "H'as handsomely bred up my Girls, I thank him" ; *ibid.* II. ii. (Cam. iv. 341) : "And baited me abundantly, I thank her" ; *Bonduca*, I. ii. (Cam. vi. 86) : "For I will none, I thank ye" (repeated six times) ; *Double Marriage*, II. (Cam. vi. 377) : "My anger never looks so low, I thank you" ; *Women Pleas'd*, IV. iii. (Cam. vii. 294) : "You love my wife, I thank ye" ; *Womans Prize*, v. i. (Cam. viii. 77) : "She heard me, and I thank her, thought me worthy."

In this list I have included the expression "to the height," chiefly because it illustrates the difficulty of the subject. It does not occur in Shakespeare and it does occur in plays written wholly by Fletcher. On the other hand it is not uncommon in Massinger, and its presence in Scene ii., which is not Fletcher's, may be a sign that this scene was written or altered by Massinger.

Three plays on the life of Cardinal Wolsey by Chettle assisted by other writers are mentioned in Henslowe's Diary, but as they are lost it is impossible to say what relation they bore to each other or to our *Henry VIII.* An Interlude on Henry VIII. is entered in the Stationers' Registers under the date of 1604, and this has been supposed to be the same play as Rowley's half-chronicle, half-farce, *When you see me you know*

me (printed in 1605, 1613, 1632, and edited by Prof. Elze, 1874). If the Prologue to *Henry VIII.* refers to a particular play, it may well be this. It contains two fools, the King's, Will Summers, and the Cardinal's, Patch. There is a description of a sword and buckler fight between King Henry in disguise and Black Will a highwayman, and some of the watch are wounded in arresting them; and the rimes of the king's fool are indecent. It is therefore a merry bawdy play containing a noise of targets and a fellow in a long motley coat. That it was consciously imitated by the writers of our play is not so clear. The coincidences noted by Prof. Elze are as follows. In both plays the king's favourite ejaculation is "Ha!" He is exhibited as walking in the gallery, and as leaning on the arm of a courtier, he is angry when interrupted in his privacy by Wolsey (Rowley), by Norfolk and Suffolk (Shakespeare). The intrusion of an over-hasty messenger is resented by the King (Rowley), by the Queen (Shakespeare). He sends his ring to Cranmer (Rowley), gives it (Shakespeare). Again, Wolsey is upbraided by Will Summers with "a fair leman at Charlton" (Rowley), and by Surrey with "a brown wench" (Shakespeare), his influence over the king is ascribed to his eloquence, "Great England's king have I so won with words," etc. (Rowley), cf. "he hath a witch-craft Over the king in's tongue" (Shakespeare). "Both poets derive the Cardinal's downfall almost in the self-same words from the same causes," *viz.* his extortion of money and heaping up of treasure in order to gain the papal throne, the arrogant formula *Ego et rex meus*, the stamping of the Cardinal's hat on the king's coin. Prof. Elze anticipates the objection that these things are in Holinshed, by asking why the writers selected from the long list of charges the very same items for introduction into their plays; and what common source can be found for those scenes where the births of the Prince of Wales and Princess Elizabeth are looked forward to and announced. This latter resemblance may have some weight, but as we find in *Henry VIII.* six of the nine charges mentioned by Holinshed, and as the three others are excluded on their merits, the coincidence is natural. To Prof. Elze's list a few other resemblances, at least equally unimportant, may be

added. In Rowley's play the king commands Wolsey to be hospitable to the French ambassadors: "Let them see Henry keeps a kingly court," cf. the charge concerning Campeius, *Henry VIII.* II. ii. 78. In Rowley, Wolsey hearing that Katharine Parr is to be queen, exclaims "She is the hope of Luther's heresy," so in *Henry VIII.* III. ii. 98, he objects to Anne Bullen: "I know her for A spleeny Lutheran." In connection with the king's contemplated marriage with a protestant, both plays have allusions to the wars of religion; see Rowley's play (p. 56): "Much bloodshed is there now in Germany About this difference in religion," cf. *Henry VIII.* V. iii. 30: "Commotions, uproars . . . as . . . The upper Germany can dearly witness"; and in both the figure of the phoenix is used, in the one of the birth of Edward at the death of Jane, and in the other of the succession of James on the death of Elizabeth. No doubt Rowley's play was known to other playwrights of the time, but in comparison with *Henry VIII.* it is the merest trifling, though its very worthlessness may have suggested the writing of a better play dealing with the same reign. *The Life of Wolsey in The Mirror for Magistrates* contains two lines (st. 52):

Your fault not half so great as was my pryde,
For which offence fell Lucifer from skyes,

which may have given a hint for I. i. 68-70 and III. ii. 371, but this is very doubtful. The main sources of the play are Holinshed's *Chronicles* and Fox's *Acts and Monuments*.

Capell who regarded the first edition of the *Chronicles* as "Shakespeare's Holinshed," adds to his extracts from this edition many from Hall's *Chronicle*, but the course of events in the trial scene, Act IV. ii., seems to indicate that the second edition of Holinshed (1586) was followed, and this edition includes all the information contained in Capell's citations from Hall, as well as extracts from Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey* which appeared for the first time in Stow's *Chronicle*. Fletcher may however have consulted more than one chronicle, as the old knight in *Wit at several Weapons* searched both Stow and Holinshed and proposed to search *Polychronicon* for assurance that none of his family had been hanged since Brute. The mention in *The Elder Brother* (II. i.) of "Dunce

Hollingshead the Englishman, that writes of Shows and Sheriffs," is no evidence that Fletcher was not deeply indebted to him. Similar ingratitude is not unknown to-day. But the only indication I can find of an independent use of other authorities is in I. i. 97, where the expression "the ambassador is silenc'd," is closer to Hall's "The ambassador was commaunded to kepe his house in silence" than to Holinshed's "was commanded to keepe his house," and in III. ii. 339, where *legative*, the reading of F 1, may have arisen from the misprint in Stow (10th ed., p. 501a, l. 1): "of his legatiue iurisdiction." This does not mean that Hall's work was unknown to the authors of *Henry VIII.* but merely that it was not used as an authority. In *Notes and Queries*, 7th Ser. vol. vii. pp. 203, 204, Mr. Watkiss Lloyd showed that the Lord Chancellor's address to Cranmer (v. iii. 10-15) closely resembles the Bishop of London's address to his clergy in persuading them to subscribe part of "the sōme of one hundreth thousand pounce to be pardoned of the Premunire." The Bishop's speech is not given in Holinshed; in Hall it begins as follows: "My frendes all, you knowe well that we be men frayle of condicion and no Angels, and by frailtie and lacke of wysdome we have misdemeaned our selfe toward the kyng our Soveraygne Lord and his lawes, so that all wee of the Cleargy were in the Preminure [*sic*]" etc.

In comparison with *When you see me you know me*, the play may be regarded as history, but it is rather a new "Mirror for Magistrates" in the form of a drama, interspersed or interrupted by pageants. Those that can pity may, if they think it well, let fall a tear over the successive fates of Buckingham, of Wolsey, of Katharine; and for sightseers there are processions. Many of the speeches are extracts from the chronicles. In other places there is no attempt at accuracy. Norfolk who is known to have been in England at the time is chosen to describe the magnificence of the shows in France. The historical Buckingham was arrested by Marney. He had been dead for a year when the French ambassador was silenced, and for three years when the tax of a sixth was imposed. The fall of the young courtiers took place before the opening of the play. The French king's sister was

married to the king of Navarre when Wolsey is represented as plotting to marry her to Henry VIII. In short, the authors were not historians. They were not only indifferent to details, but they transposed or combined important events to serve their immediate purpose; yet they seem on the whole to have dealt fairly with both men and matters as far as their knowledge went. They were probably not aware that Fox was unscrupulous in what he felt to be a good cause, or that Holinshed was misled by Polydore Vergil who hated Wolsey and lost no opportunity of discrediting him, and by Hall who though an honest man admired Henry and all his works. Hence Wolsey's real greatness is obscured. Even Griffith, his apologist, can only say that he was princely in bestowing his ill-gotten gains, and that he died a penitent. Yet it is possible that if Shakespeare had completed the drama Wolsey would have been its protagonist. The shadow of his power is felt in the first act and there are already mutterings of the tempest by which he was at length to be overwhelmed. This is in Shakespeare's manner. There is a consecutiveness in his plays, often arising from the merest trifles. By links and indications reaching forward and backward he makes of his incidents a coherent story. The interest of his hearers is kept alive, and they sit satisfied and expectant. But here, the *disiecta membra* of what might have been a great tragedy are hardly to be recognised in the stream of declamation. Scenes and situations are embellished for themselves and not for the drama. Fletcher's methods would have ruined *Julius Cæsar*, and in *Henry VIII.* each of the great characters passes in turn into his power and their strength goes from them. Where a Greek dramatist would have shown us the march of fate, Fletcher interposes the excitement of sudden contrasts and needless accidents. Thus Wolsey is represented as the king's confidant and agent in one of the most delicate of negotiations, and in the next scene he is overthrown. His enemies at the time were strong and many, they might have attacked from any quarter, or from all, like a Virgilian storm. There is no need of a *deus ex machina*. But Fletcher is not satisfied with the natural course of events; an accident must produce the effect for which a train was

laid; the result must be in inverse proportion to the cause, and the champion knocked down with a feather. So an incident is stolen from the life of Ruthall, a letter goes adrift, and Wolsey is ruined. The melodramatist of the moment has had his melodramatic surprise. Elsewhere, as in the speeches, it is the sentimentalist that triumphs. Where Fletcher follows the chronicles, his characters are natural and life-like; when he extemporises they lament in falsetto. Now, it is the merits of the play that have told most strongly in favour of its ascription to Shakespeare. There is a widespread opinion that it is too good to be Fletcher's. Even Swinburne thought so, and his powers of perception will not be doubted whatever may be thought of his conclusions. If he had failed to recognise Fletcher's style, we might be inclined to distrust our ears. But he not only recognises it but expresses his recognition in a manner out-Macaulying Macaulay. "It is waste of time," he says, "to point out with [?] what] any intelligent and imaginative child with a tolerable ear for metre who had read a little of the one and the other poet could see for himself—that much of the play is externally as like the usual style of Fletcher as it is unlike the usual style of Shakespeare." Yet he will have it that what is perhaps most Fletcherian of all was Fletcher's model rather than his work.—"The speech of Buckingham, for example, on his way to execution, is of course at first sight very like the finest speeches of the kind in Fletcher; here is the same smooth and fluent declamation, the same prolonged and persistent melody, which if not monotonous is certainly not various; the same pure, lucid, perspicuous flow of simple rather than strong and elegant rather than exquisite English; and yet if we set it against the best examples of the kind which may be selected from such tragedies as *Bonduca* or *The False One*, against the rebuke addressed by Caratach to his cousin or by Cæsar to the murderers of Pompey—and no finer instance of tragic declamation can be chosen from the work of this great master of rhetorical dignity and pathos—I cannot but think that we shall perceive in it a comparative severity and elevation which will be missed when we turn back from it to the text of Fletcher. There is an aptness of phrase, an abstinence from excess, a 'plentiful lack' of mere

flowery and superfluous beauties, which we may rather wish than hope to find in the most famous of Shakespeare's successors."

This opinion seems wholly true; but it would be easy to reply that Browning found nothing in the play which even Massinger might not have written; or to ask why Shakespeare of all men should have stolen Fletcher's thunder. If some perversity of humour had misled him into wearing *purpureos pannos* from Fletcher's wardrobe, why did he not maintain the disguise throughout? It was surely sufficient. Or was the transaction reciprocal, and Fletcher disguised as Shakespeare the real author of the non-Fletcherian scenes, and does the mystery dissolve into a display of holiday friendship, like an exchange of hats between lovers on a bus? But the voice of nature in some of the speeches admits of a more reasonable explanation. These speeches or parts of them are life-like because they are transcripts from life. Holinshed had gathered together and set down, from the surest sources known to him and as truly as he could, the actual words of men and women speaking with strong feeling of things which concerned them greatly. If the drama, as is generally acknowledged, shows signs of haste, Fletcher could have had little leisure for inventing speeches or for changing materially the substance or quality of those which he found in the chronicles. What he added is no more worthy of Swinburne's praise than what he wrote elsewhere without the support or the control of history. I once knew a musician, strangely gifted, whose employers insisted on his playing at sight, because if he was given time, he responded with variations of his own.

Mr. P. A. Daniel's time Analysis is as follows:—

"The time of this play is seven days represented on the stage, with intervals the length of which it is, perhaps, impossible to determine . . .

Day I Act I. sc. i.-iv.

Interval

„ 2 Act II. sc. i.-iii.

„ 3 Act II. sc. iv.

„ 4 Act. III. sc. i.

Interval

INTRODUCTION

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- Day 5 Act III. sc. ii.
Interval
„ 6 Act IV. sc. i. and li.
Interval
„ 7 Act V. sc. i.-v."

HISTORICAL SUMMARY

- 1520, May. Banishment from Court of "the king's
minions."
„ „ Visit of the Emperor, Charles V.
„ June 4-25. Field of the Cloth of Gold.
1521, April 16. Arrest of Buckingham.
„ May 13-17. Trial and execution.
1523, March 6. Englishmen's goods seized at Bour-
deaux.
„ War, with France.
1525. A sixth part of every man's substance
demanded and refused.
The demand withdrawn by the King
at a great council.
1527, Jan. 3. The masque at Wolsey's house.
1529, June 18. The trial of the validity of Henry's
marriage begins at Blackfriars.
„ June 21. Henry and Katharine appear in person.
„ Interview of Wolsey and Campeggio with Katharine.
„ Fall of Wolsey.
1530. His arrest and death.
1532, Sept. 1. Anne Boleyn created Marchioness of
Pembroke.
„ Nov. 14. (Holinshed) Henry marries Anne
secretly.
1533. Cranmer made archbishop.
„ Divorce of Katharine.
„ Elizabeth born and baptised.
1536. Death of Katharine . . . and of Dr. Pace.
1544. Cranmer summoned before Council.

In my notes I have tried to avoid the scylla and charybdis of a modern editor, the temptation to find an exceptional meaning in the language of earlier times and the temptation

to impose a present-day meaning which in those times was rare or unknown. It is not easy to escape a charge of impudence as of who should say *Ipse dixi*, except by multiplying quotations, but if in some cases mine seem needlessly many, it is because they are offered not only in proof of explanations but as a substitute, however insufficient, for a real knowledge of the language. It may be that some who read Shakespeare are too young to be familiar with the other writings of his time. An acquaintance with words that is confined to their dictionary meanings (if the dictionary be not the N.E.D.) can only be reckoned among points of ignorance. Its result in extreme cases has been "Babu English" and "English as she is spoke." In a dictionary we meet with a word apart and naked, like a stranger in a Turkish bath, while in literature it appears in various contexts, laden or animated by all the suggestions and associations of its daily life and habits. These are as important as the general sense and like it must change in the course of time.

Among my many debts to the writings of others, I must specially mention those incurred to the N.E.D., to *Notes and Queries*, to the *Henry VIII.* of the Clarendon Press (here as in other plays above praise), as well as to the Cambridge Shakespeare and to it in particular for the readings of the last three folios.

For research and transcription I am indebted to Miss May Butler and to the Rev. R. Allen Beatty for the loan of his copy of Verplanck.

Besides giving me the valuable notes embodied in mine under his name, Prof. Case, General Editor of this Series, has corrected or indicated a very considerable number of mistakes or obscurities in my MS.; and in many places where difficulties had been overlooked has suggested additional notes.

And Prof. Dowden sent me a copy of his Introduction to *Henry VIII.* in the *Renaissance Shakespeare*; his kindness was as inexhaustible as his learning. For those who loved him and love him, to remember him as he lived is to renew their sense of an irreparable loss, "for in the life Where he is not We find none like him."

THE FAMOUS HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF KING HENRY VIII

THE PROLOGUE

I come no more to make you laugh: things now,
That bear a weighty and a serious brow,
Sad, high and working, full of state and woe,
Such noble scenes as draw the eye to flow,
We now present. Those that can pity, here 5
May, if they think it well, let fall a tear;
The subject will deserve it. Such as give

3. *high and working*] and *high-working* Staunton. 5. *now*] shall Pope.

Prologue] By Fletcher (Spedding and Boyle). Johnson says: "Though it is very difficult to decide whether short pieces be genuine or spurious, yet I cannot restrain myself from expressing my suspicion that neither the Prologue nor Epilogue to this play is the work of Shakespeare; *non vultus, non color*." He suggests that they are by Ben Jonson, whose manner, he thinks, they resemble, or else by an unknown writer at some accidental revival of the play. In the latter case, "the writer, whoever he was, intended no great kindness to him [Shakespeare], this play being recommended by a subtle and covert censure of his other works. There is in Shakespeare so much of *fool and fight*,

itself; any description of court ceremonies, though derived from Holinshed, any phrase that suggests, however feebly, a classical original, however remote, is brought forward as evidence. Modern critics for the most part attribute both Prologue and Epilogue to Fletcher, and though Fletcher was not greatly given to prologising, as we may infer from the words, "He could not write these toys" (*Pro. Nicc Valour*), yet the Prologue to *The Faithful Shepherdess* is certainly his own. The disparagement of "fool and fight" is probably directed against Rowley's play, *When you see me you know me*.

3. *high and working*] Staunton read *and high-working*, citing *Epistle Dedicatorie* to Chapman's *Iliads* of Homer:—

"Then let not this Divinitie in
earth
(Deare Prince) be sleighted, as she
were the birth
Of idle Fancie; *since she works so
hie.*"

"Working" may mean affecting the feelings.

'the fellow
In a long motley coat guarded with
yellow'
appears so often in his drama, that I think it not very likely that he would have animadverted so severely on himself." Farmer and Steevens accept the former conjecture and believe that Ben Jonson was a collaborator in the play

Their money out of hope they may believe,
 May here find truth too. Those that come to see
 Only a show or two, and so agree 10
 The play may pass, if they be still and willing,
 I'll undertake may see away their shilling
 Richly in two short hours. Only they
 That come to hear a merry bawdy play,
 A noise of targets, or to see a fellow 15
 In a long motley coat guarded with yellow,
 Will be deceiv'd; for, gentle hearers, know,
 To rank our chosen truth with such a show

12. *shilling*] i.e. six or seven shillings of our money. It was the usual price of a good seat, next or on the stage. See Beaumont and Fletcher, *Mad Lover*, *Pro.* :—

"Remember ye're all venturers; and in this Play

How many twelve-pences ye have stow'd this day";

The Captain, *Pro.* :—

"Yet those that love to laugh and those that think

Twelve pence goes further this way than in drinks" etc.;

Com. Verses on Massinger's *Bond-man* :—

"'Tis granted for your twelve-pence you did sit,

And see, and hear, and understand not yet."

Malone cites Overbury, *Characters*, 1614: "If he have but twelve pence in his purse, he will give it for the best room in a playhouse"; and Dekker, *Guls Hornebooke*, 1609: "At a new play you take up a twelve penny room next the stage, because the lords and you may seem to be hail fellow well met." See also Lawrence, *Elizabethan Playhouse*, 1912, p. 9: "'the gentlemen's room' or 'twelve-penny room' was situated on the lowermost gallery close to the stage." Mr. Lawrence has gathered and interpreted much interesting information re prices, and the manner of taking entrance money, arrangement of seats, etc.

13. *two short hours*] Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher, *Love's Pilgrimage*, *Pro.* : "A good tale. Told in two hours." A longer time is given in the late Epilogue to Beaumont and Fletcher's *Loyal Subject* :—

"few here repent
Three hours of pretious time, or money spent

On our endeavours."

15. *targets*] shields. Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Double Marriage*, II. i. :—

"like the image of the warlike goddess,

Her target braced upon her arm,
Her sword drawn."

In Golding's Ovid, "like a myghty target" translates "instar Ingentis clypei," *Met.* xiii. ll. 851, 852.

16. *In . . . coat*] Steevens quotes Marston, *Scourge of Villanie*, *Sat.* xi. : "The long fooles coat"; and Nashe, *Have with you to Saffron Walden*, *Ep. Ded.* (ed. McKerrow, iii. 17) : "fooles, ye know, alwaies for the most part (especiallie if they bee naturall fooles) are suted in long coates." A parti-coloured or motley coat was worn by professional fools. Cf. *As You Like It*, II. vii. 43 : "O that I were a fool! I am ambitious for a motley coat."

16. *guarded*] ornamented: guards were "trimmings, facings, or other ornaments applied upon a dress; perhaps from the idea of their defending the substance of the cloth" (Nares). Cf. *Much Ado About Nothing*, I. i. 289.

16. *yellow*] Douce (*Illustrations*, p. 511, ed. 1839) quotes Bancroft's *Epigrams*, 1639 :—

"pride, that's seldom scene
But in fooles's yellow, and the lover's Greene,"

adding that a MS. note in the time of the Commonwealth states yellow to have been the fool's colour.

17. *deceiv'd*] sc. of this expectation, disappointed. Cf. *All's Well that Ends Well*, I. i. 293.

As fool and fight is, beside forfeiting
 Our own brains and the opinion that we bring 20
 To make that only true we now intend,
 Will leave us never an understanding friend.
 Therefore, for goodness' sake, and as you are known
 The first and happiest hearers of the town,
 Be sad, as we would make ye: think ye see 25
 The very persons of our noble story

19. *beside*] *besides* Pope (ed. 2). 20. *brains*] *praise* Vaughan conj., reading, after Malone, l. 21 as a parenthesis. 21. *To make . . . intend*] *Or make; that only truth we now intend* Hudson (Johnson conj.); *That only true to make we now intend* Tyrwhitt conj.; In a parenthesis, Malone (Anon. conj.); *That make etc.* Rowe. 23. *and as*] as Pope. 25. *ye see*] *before ye* Theobald. 26. *noble story*] *history* Capell (Heath conj.).

19. *fool and fight*] Mr. Boyle compares Beaumont and Fletcher, *Women Pleased*, v. i. :—

"To what end do I walk? for men
 to wonder at,
 And fight and fool?"

Boswell thought it was the intention of the writer of the Prologue to contrast our play with the extravagance of Rowley's *When you see me you know me*, which contains two fools, Will Summers (Henry VIII.'s) and Patch (Cardinal Wolsey's) as well as a sword and buckler fight between Henry VIII. and Black Will, a highwayman, which ended in the combatants being attacked and overpowered by the watch.

19. *beside*] *besides*, in addition to. Cf. Stow, *Annals*, 514 b: "And beside all, this same duke . . . demanded," etc. See also quotation from *Bonduca* in next note.

19. *forfeiting*] Prof. Case paraphrases: "To put our presentation of true events into competition with such etc., would not only show us to be brainless and destroy our credit as intending representers of what is true, but also leave us no friends among the intelligent." A similar use of "forfeit" occurs in Beaumont and Fletcher, *Bonduca*, III. ii. 2:—

"We dare not hazard it; beside our lives

It forfeits all our understandings." i.e. it would be foolish as well as risky.

20. *bring*] Compare *Two Noble Kinsmen*, Pro. l. 21: "This is the fear we bring."

21. *To . . . intend*] This line was put in a parenthesis by Malone, with the meaning—our intention is to make

true (i.e. confirm) the belief suggested by our title "All is true." Hudson adopting a conjecture of Johnson's read, "the opinion that we bring *Or* make—that only *truth* we now intend"—i.e. the opinion or expectation that we now intend truth only. Tyrwhitt says: "If any alteration were necessary, I should only be for changing the order of the words, and reading 'That only true to make we now intend'; i.e. that now we intend to exhibit only what is true." No doubt the text is right, and the explanation of the Clarendon edition seems satisfactory, viz. "the reputation we bring with us of making the representation which we have in view simply in accordance with truth." This was the credit which the company of players had acquired with the public."

24. *happiest*] Steevens thinks "happy" is here used with one of its Roman significations, i.e. *propitious* or *favourable*, and compares Virgil, *Ecl.* v. 65: "Sis bonus O, felixque tuis"; a sense of the word which, he says, must have been unknown to Shakespeare, but was familiar to Jonson.

24. *hearers*] sc. of the King's Players, at the Globe.

25, 26. *think ye see . . . noble story*] To make the rime and metre regular, Theobald read *Think before ye* in l. 25, and Capell, adopting a conjecture of Heath's, read *history* for *noble story* in l. 26. Johnson defended the text on the ground of laxity of versification here and in the Epilogue. From the latter M. Mason quoted ll. 9, 10, comparing Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, II. i. :—

As they were living ; think you see them great,
 And follow'd with the general throng and sweat
 Of thousand friends ; then, in a moment, see
 How soon this mightiness meets misery :
 And if you can be merry then, I'll say
 A man may weep upon his wedding-day.

30

28. *sweat*] *suite* Daniel conj.

"Till both of us arrive at her request,
 Some ten miles off, in the Wild
 Waltham-Forest."

See also *Maid's Tragedy*, 1. i. :—

"But I will give a greater state and
 glory,

And raise to time a noble memory."

An extra syllable in the second line of
 a couplet, unaccented and forming the
 rime, is not very uncommon, see Hey-
 wood, *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, *Preface*,
 ll. 11, 12 :—

"But this and this rest ; I write for
 this,

Remembering and considering what
 the pith is."

It occurs again and again in Chapman,
e.g., *The Shadow of Night* (Works, ed.
 Shepherd, p. 6 b) :—

"When Saturn's golden fingers
 struck the springs

Of civil government—make all our
 doings";

ibid.,—

"And eagle-like dost with thy starry
 wings

Beat in the fowls and beasts to
 Somnus lodgings";

ibid. p. 13 a :—

"In all things ruinous, and slaughter
 some,

As was that scourge to the Ætolian
 kingdom."

28. *sweat*] Daniel conjectured *suite* :
 but *sweat* was a favourite word of
 Fletcher's, see *The Prophetess*, III. i. :
 "the house with full joy sweating";
The False One, II. i. : "I bring this
 present [Pompey's head] The crown
 and sweat of thy Pharsalian labour, the
 goal and mark of high ambitious hon-
 our."

ACT I

SCENE I.—*London. An ante-chamber in the palace.*

Enter the DUKE OF NORFOLK at one door; at the other, the DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM and the LORD ABERGAVENNY.

Buck. Good morrow, and well met. How have ye done
Since last we saw in France?

Nor. I thank your grace,
Healthful, and ever since a fresh admirer
Of what I saw there.

Buck. Ah, untimely ague
Stay'd me a prisoner in my chamber, when
Those suns of glory, those two lights of men, 5
Met in the vale of Andren.

Act I. Scene 1.] Actus Primus. Scæna Prima. Ff. London . . . palace]
Theobald. The Acts and Scenes are given by the Folios in Latin. 6. *suns*]
sunnes Ff 1, 2; *sons* Ff 3, 4. 7. *Andren*] F 1; *Arde* Ff 2-4; *Ardres* Rowe.

Act I. Scene 1.] By Shakespeare (Spedding); by Massinger (Boyle).

Norfolk] Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk, son of "Jocky of Norfolk" slain at Bosworth Field. He presided at Buckingham's trial and died in 1524 before Wolsey's fall.

Buckingham] Edward Stafford whose eldest daughter, Elizabeth, married Thomas third Duke of Norfolk, and his youngest, Mary, married George Nevill, Lord Abergavenny.

Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII.* vol. i. cap. xiii., thinks that by Norfolk here is meant Surrey who succeeded his father in 1524, as no other supposition will suit the chronology of the play; but even so, he adds, "Shakespeare has fallen into a grave historical error. It was not Buckingham, but Norfolk, who should have required an account of the meeting of 'those sons of glory, those two lights of men'; for both Buckingham and his son-in-law Lord Abergavenny were present at the interview. Whereas Norfolk, with Fox, Bishop of Winchester, and other mem-

bers of the Council, remained in England, and Surrey was absent as lieutenant in Ireland. . . . Not a word of his [Buckingham's] illness is found in Hall."

2. *saw*]sc. each other. Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Coxcomb*, v. i.: "I should not have known you neither, 'tis so long since we saw, we were but children then." On *Cymbeline*, i. i. 124 (this series), "When shall we see [*i.e.* meet] again?" Prof. Dowden notes that the same words occur also in *Troilus and Cressida*, iv. iv. 59.

5. *when*] 7th of June, 1520; the ceremonies lasted till the 24th. See Holinshed (after Hall, who was present), iii. pp. 649 *seqq.*

6. *suns*] Capell followed Ff 3, 4 and Rowe in reading *sons*, objecting to *suns* that it "creates a gross anti-climax in this line." Pope, as Steevens notes, has borrowed this phrase in his Imitation of Horace's Epistle to Augustus, l. 22: "Those suns of glory please not till they set."

Nor.

'Twixt Guynes and Arde :

I was then present, saw them salute on horseback ;
Beheld them, when they 'lighted, how they clung
In their embracement, as they grew together ; 10
Which had they, what four thron'd ones could have
weigh'd

Such a compounded one?

Buck.

All the whole time

I was my chamber's prisoner.

Nor.

Then you lost

The view of earthly glory : merf might say,
Till this time pomp was single, but now married 15
To one above itself. Each following day

8. *them*] 'em Pope.
ending *they*, weigh'd in Ff.

11. *Which . . . weigh'd*] Rowe (ed. 2) ; two lines,

7. *Guynes and Arde*] "Guynes then belonged to the English, and Arde to the French ; they are towns in Picardy, and the valley of Andren lay between them. *Arde* is *Ardres*, but both Hall and Holinshed write it as Shakespeare does" (Reed).

10. *as*] as if. Cf. *Wits' Trenchmoar* (*apud* Breton, ed. Grosart, i. xxvii. a) : "She doth all things as she did them not, and useth the world as she esteemed it not."

10. *grew together*] A common figure in Fletcher. See Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Bloody Brother*, II. iii. :—

"And my sweet sons, once more with mutual twinings,
As one chaste bed begot you, make one body"

(said by Sophia reconciling her sons) ; *Bonduca*, III. iv. : "How close they march as if they grew together" ; *Women Pleas'd*, II. v. : "And so link'd together ?"—"As they had been one piece of Alabaster." Steevens compared *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II. i. 152 : "So we grew together, like to a double cherry, seeming parted" ; and *All's Well that Ends Well*, II. i. 36 : "I grow to you and our parting is a tortured body." Malone added *Venus and Adonis*, l. 540 : "Incorporate then they seem : face grows to face."

13. *I . . . prisoner*] Buckingham's supposed illness enables Norfolk to bring before the audience matters that could not conveniently be represented on the stage. The same device is

found in Massinger, *Emperour of the East*, III. i. :—

"Paul. Nor this, nor the age before us, ever look'd on

The like solemnity.

Phil.

A sudden fever
Kept me at home. Pray you, my lord, acquaint me
With the particulars."

No evidence has yet been found for Buckingham's ague, but he was certainly not absent "all the whole time," for on 16th June (Holinshed inadvertently says 17th) "The lord cardinal in statelie attire, accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, and other great lords, conducted forward the French king, and in their way they encountered and met the King of England and his companie right in the Valley of Anderne apparalled in their masking apparell which gladded the French king."

15, 16. *Till . . . itself*] Warburton's comment, "the thought is odd and whimsical," is certainly true of his explanation, *viz.* "pomp led a single life, as not finding a husband able to support her according to her dignity ; but she has now got one in Henry VIII., who would support her, even above her condition, in finery." M. Mason says : "Before this time all pompous shows were exhibited by one prince only. On this occasion the Kings of England and France vied with each other." But this is to confound rivalry with wedlock. Johnson is, as usual, simple and sufficient : "pomp was encreased

Became the next day's master, till the last
 Made former wonders its. To-day the French,
 All clinquant, all in gold, like heathen gods,
 Shone down the English; and to-morrow they 20
 Made Britain India: every man that stood
 Show'd like a mine. Their dwarfish pages were
 As cherubins, all gilt: the madams too,
 Not us'd to toil, did almost sweat to bear
 The pride upon them, that their very labour 25
 Was to them as a painting: now this masque
 Was cried incomparable; and the ensuing night
 Made it a fool and beggar. The two kings,
 Equal in lustre, were now best, now worst,
 As presence did present them; him in eye 30
 Still him in praise; and being present both,
 'Twas said they saw but one, and no discerner

17. *next* . . . *last*] Capell (Theobald conj.). 18. *wonders*] *wond'ers* Theobald conj. *its*] *it's* Ff; *his* Hanmer. 19. *heathen*] *Heathens* Ff 2-4.

on this occasion to more than twice as much as it had ever been before. Pomp is no more married to the English than to the French King, for to neither is any preference given by the speaker. Pomp is only married to pomp, but the new pomp is greater than the old."

16-18. *Each* . . . *its*] "Following" is used loosely to include the first day; "master" is teacher as in *The Taming of the Shrew*, III. 1. 54, and *The Passionate Pilgrim*, xvi. 2. As the days went by each taught something to the day that came after; as Johnson says. "*Diem dies docet*. Every day learnt something from the preceding, till the concluding day collected all the splendor of all the former shows." Capell, mistaking the sense of "master," transposed "next" and "last" and explained: "Each day, as it rose, outwent the Day we saw last, and we thought it could not be equal'd; 'till another day came which outwent that, drew all our former wonder unto it, made it its own."

19. *clinquant*] Cotgrave has "Clinquant [= Or clinquant]: m. Thinne plate-lace of gold, or silver"; and the word might possibly be taken as a substantive here, as Milton translates *auream*, "all gold," but it is oftener an adjective meaning shining or glittering as tinsel, though its derivation is not from the glitter but from the tinkling

sound. It occurs in Beaumont and Fletcher, *Maid in the Mill*, v. ii.: "A clinquant petticoat of some rich stuff." Steevens quotes from *A Memorable Masque* etc., performed before King James at Whitehall, 1613, at the marriage of the Palsgrave and the Princess Elizabeth, "his buskins clinquant as his other attire"; and Halliwell, from Florio, *New World of Words*, 1611: "*Aguina*, a kind of networke worne over tinsell or cloth of gold to make it look *clinkant*." He gives other examples. See also *New Eng. Dict.*

23. *cherubins*] So Wyclif has in Exod. xxv. 18: "Two goldun cherubyns." *Cherubin* is a form of the plural found in the pre-Clementine Vulgate, and this, not *cherub*, is the word first used in English as a singular. See *New Eng. Dict.* Cotgrave, *Dict.*, 1611, has "Cherubin . m. A Cherubin."

25. *that*] so that. Cf. l. 36.

26. *Was* . . . *painting*] they were flushed by the effort, as if rouged.

30, 31. *him* . . . *praise*] Johnson compares Dryden, *Annus Mirabilis* (Chalmers, 510 a):—

"With equal power he does two chiefs create,
 Two such as each seem'd worthiest when alone."

32. *discerner*] beholder; the substantive does not occur elsewhere in Shake-

Durst wag his tongue in censure. When these suns—
 For so they phrase 'em—by their heralds challeng'd
 The noble spirits to arms, they did perform 35
 Beyond thought's compass; that former fabulous story,
 Being now seen possible enough, got credit,
 That Bevis was believ'd.

Buck.

O, you go far.

Nor. As I belong to worship, and affect

In honour honesty, the tract of every thing 40
 Would by a good discourser lose some life,
 Which action's self was tongue to. All was royal;
 To the disposing of it nought rebell'd;
 Order gave each thing view; the office did
 Distinctly his full function.

Buck.

Who did guide, 45

I mean, who set the body and the limbs
 Of this great sport together, as you guess?

33. *censure*. When] Rowe; *censure, when* Ff. 34. 'em] them Malone, who makes this change throughout. 36. that] omitted Wordsworth. former] old Pope. 38. That] And Seymour conj. 42-47. All . . . guess] So Theobald; in Ff Buckingham's speech begins with *All was royal*, and in Ff 1-3 ends with *together*. 44. the office] each office Roderick conj.

speare, but the verb does, and always in the sense of seeing, not distinguishing.

33. *wag . . . censure*] give a decision as to which was the better. For "wag" = move, see *Lucrece*, l. 1406, and note, in this series. "Censure" means judgment, or opinion, not blame, as now.

38. *Bevis*] Drayton "Chants Bevis of Southampton's praise" in *Polyolbion*, Song 2. See also *Sir Bevis of Hamton*, E.E.T. Soc., Extra Series. The form of expression recalls Fletcher's work. See Beaumont and Fletcher, *Custom of the Country*, v. i. :—

"All ancient stories of the love of Husbands

To virtuous Wives, be now no more remember'd—

The tales of Turtles, ever be forgotten,

Or for his sake believ'd;"

Wild-Goose Chase, 1. i. : "Believe them? believe *Amadis de Gaul*, The Knight o' th' Sun, or *Palmerin of England*; For these, to [i.e. compared with] them, are modest, and true stories"; *Love's Cure*, v. i. : "if it does endure . . . Ulysses, Cyclops, Io's transformation, Eurydice fetch'd from Hell, with all

the rest Of Ovid's Fables, I'll put in your Creed; And for proof, all incredible things may be."

38. *go far*] sc. in praise. A similar use of "far" occurs in III. i. 65.

39. *As . . . worship*] On my honour as a gentleman. "To 'affect honesty' is to love truth.

40-42. *the tract . . . tongue to*] Johnson paraphrases: "The course of these triumphs and pleasures, however well related, must lose in the description part of that spirit and energy which was expressed in the real action."

42-47. *All . . . together*] Buckingham's speech in Ff, Rowe, and Pope. The change is due to Theobald, though Warburton claimed the credit of it. If the original arrangement is right, ll. 42-45, "All . . . function," must be regarded as ironical.

44. *Order . . . view*] Everything was so well arranged as to be seen distinctly.

44, 45. *the office . . . function*] Johnson paraphrases: "The commission for regulating this festivity was well executed, and gave exactly to every particular person and action the proper

Nor. One, certes, that promises no element
In such a business.

Buck. I pray you, who, my lord?

Nor. All this was order'd by the good discretion 50
Of the right reverend Cardinal of York.

Buck. The devil speed him! no man's pie is freed
From his ambitious finger. What had he
To do in these fierce vanities? I wonder
That such a keech can with his very bulk 55
Take up the rays o' the beneficial sun,
And keep it from the earth.

Nor. Surely, sir,

48. *that*] omitted Seymour conj.
Ketch F ♀. *bulk*] *hulk* Grey conj.

49. *I*] omitted Pope. 55. *keech*]

place." "Office," however, seems to stand for office-bearers, officials, as in *Hamlet*, III. i. 73: "The insolence of office."

48. *certes*] Cotgrave has: "Certes. Surely, verily, truly, &c." Elsewhere in Shakespeare it is a dissyllable, as in modern English, e.g. Mrs. Browning, *Lady Geraldine's Courtship*, last stanza, where it rimes to "virtues." Steevens notes: "It is well understood that old Ben had no skill in the pronunciation of the French language, and the scene before us appears to have had some touches from his pen." But "*certes*" is occasionally a monosyllable in Middle English, as it is always in modern French, and it is no longer believed that Ben Jonson took any part in writing or revising *Henry VIII.*

48. *element*] particle, component part; but Johnson explains: "No initiation, no previous practices. Elements are the first principles of things, or rudiments of knowledge. The word is here applied not without a catachresis, to a person"; and Halliwell (*Shaks.*) adds: "More literally, one whose station and character promise no skill in such a business; meaning that parade is not the element of a churchman."

52, 53. *no . . . finger*] "To have a finger in the pye" is, as Reed notes, one of the proverbial phrases in Ray (3rd ed. p. 190). The Clarendon ed. cites Cotgrave: "Aliboron, A Polypragmon, medler; busie-bodie; one that hath his hand in every dish, an oare in every boat."

54. *fierce vanities*] proud or extra-

vagant follies, foolish ostentation. "Fierce," says Johnson, "is here, I think, used like the French *fier* for proud [cf. *2 Henry VI.* IV. ix. 44: 'He is fierce and cannot brook bad language'], unless we suppose an allusion to the mimic ferocity of the combatants in the tilt." It is derived from O.F. *fiers*, Lat. *ferus*. For vanities=follies, see Beaumont and Fletcher, *A King and No King*, III. :-

"Away, you fool, the king is serious
And cannot now admit your vanities";

Valentinian, I. III. :-

"It fits not

Your ears should hear their vanities."

55. *keech*] Kech is the internal fat of an animal as rolled up for the tallow chandler (Halliwell, *Dict.*). Steevens notes that Wolsey was a butcher's son, and that in *2 Henry IV.* II. i. 101, a butcher's wife is called "goodwife keech." "Catch" in "tallow-catch" (*1 Henry IV.* II. iv. 252) is probably another form of the same word.

56. *beneficial*] health-giving. The expression "a sun That strengthens what it looks on" is found, used figuratively, in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, III. I.

57. *Surely*] Pope by reading *Yet surely* secured another syllable for the line, making ten in all. Some prosodists have thought that the full stop at "earth" marks a pause which compensates for the missing syllable—a judgment which Apollo might have rewarded by drawing out their ears and filling them with white hairs. If a

There's in him stuff that puts him to these ends ;
 For, being not propp'd by ancestry, whose grace
 Chalks successors their way, nor call'd upon 60
 For high feats done to the crown ; neither allied
 To eminent assistants ; but, spider-like,
 Out of his self-drawing web, he gives us note,
 The force of his own merit makes his way ;
 A gift that heaven gives for him, which buys 65
 A place next to the king.

63. *his self-drawing web.*] *his self drawing web*, Spence conj. (N. and Q. vi. ii. 143) ; *his-self drawing web* Vaughan conj. *his self-drawing*] *his self-drawn* Rowe (ed. 2) ; *himself drawing* Theobald conj. *web, he gives us note*] Capell ; *Web. O gives vs note* F 1 ; *web ; this gives us note* Pope ; *web,—O give us note !—* Knight. 65. *Gives for him, which buys*] *gives, which for him buys* Hanmer.

pause is equivalent to a syllable and can make a nine-syllabled line normal, it should make a normal line, such as l. 66, or l. 80, hyper-metrical. However this may be, the full stop at "earth" does not seem to me to mark an interval of time between Buckingham's speech and Norfolk's ; Norfolk breaks in with his objection and the breach of metre, the fact that this line is different from others, gives his objection emphasis.

60. *Chalks*] Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher, *Humorous Lieutenant*, i. i. : "I knew all this before, Sir, I chalk'd him out his way."

60. *successors*] Accented on the first syllable. Cf. *Winter's Tale*, v. i. 48.

61. *allied*] Possibly, related by blood. Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher, *Elder Brother*, v. i. : "though I was not allied to your weakness, you shall find me a Brother to your bravery of spirit." So "alliance" is used in *Love's Pilgrimage*, iv. i. :—

"And I do charge you here by our
 allyance,

And by the love that would have
 been betwixt us,

Knew we no kindred"

(they were brother and sister).

62. *assistants*] Perhaps ministers of state. See *Hamlet*, ii. ii. 166.—

"Let me be no assistant for a state

But keep a farm and carters."

This seems better than to explain, "allied to influential persons who helped him to rise." The whole passage is curiously like Holinshed's description of Adrian's election to the Popedom (iii. p. 674) : "wherein were helping no respects of favour, no consideration of

former merits, nor anie conversation [= intimacy] had with anie of the other cardinals."

63. *self-drawing*] Perhaps this means "the web which draws or seems to draw itself." The Clarendon ed. explains "formed by drawing out of itself." Staunton read "Out of his self drawing web," which gives a sense anticipated by Theobald who proposed *himself*, but "his self" for "himself" is a provincialism later than Shakespeare. Rowe (ed. 2) and Capell have *self-drawn*, but this being clear and grammatical is unlikely to have been changed.

63. *Out . . . note*] F 1 has *Out of his Selfe-drawing Web. O gives vs note*. Capell deleted the full stop and regarded *O* as a misprint for *a* = *he*, a correction Malone claimed for Steevens. The general sense is : "Relying on his own merits he has succeeded," but instead of the latter clause, we find "he tells us he has succeeded." "Out of" is perhaps equivalent to "by means of," but may suggest the point of vantage of the spider surrounded by the evidences of his skill. "Note" = notice in *The Merchant of Venice*, v. i. 120 : "take no note"; and *Twelfth Night*, iv. iii. 29 : "He shall conceal it Whiles [*i.e.* till] you are willing it shall come to note." Singer's reading (ed. 2) *O! give us note!* and Keightley's *Oh! give it note* are ingenious and may be supported by the parenthesis *Attend* in l. 158.

65. *A . . . buys*] Warburton transposed : "A gift that heaven gives ; which buys for him." M. Mason supports Johnson's conjecture "to" for

Aber.

I cannot tell
 What heaven hath given him ; let some graver eye
 Pierce into that ; but I can see his pride
 Peep through each part of him : whence has he that ?
 If not from hell, the devil is a niggard, 70
 Or has given all before, and he begins
 A new hell in himself.

Buck.

Why the devil,
 Upon this French going out, took he upon him,
 Without the privy o' the king, to appoint
 Who should attend on him ? He makes up the file 75
 Of all the gentry ; for the most part such
 To whom as great a charge as little honour
 He meant to lay upon : and his own letter,
 The honourable board of council out,
 Must fetch him in he papers.

69, 70. *that* ? . . . *hell*] Theobald ; *that*, . . . *hell* ? Ff. 76, 77. *such* To whom] *such* On whom Hanmer ; *such* Too, whom Capell ; *such*, too, On whom Keightley (S. Walker conj.). 78-80. *and* . . . *papers*] erased Collier MS., omitted Wordsworth. 79, 80. *council* out, . . . *him* in he] Council out) . . . in him he Pope ; *Councell*, out . . . *him* in, he F 1. 80. *he papers*] the papers Campbell ; *he papers* Staunton conj. ; *the papers* Spence conj. (N. and Q. 1880) ; *he presses* Kinnear conj.

"for" by citing l. 67: "What heaven hath given him." The text is quite intelligible. Norfolk regards heaven as supplying the place of a patron who uses his influence or money to procure a place or the reversion of a place for a dependant.

69. *Peep* . . . *him*] Steevens compares *Troilus and Cressida*, iv. v. 56:—

"her wanton spirits look out
 At every joint and motion of her
 body."

70. *devil*] Cf. iii. ii. 441 *infra*: "By that sin fell the angels"; *Twelfth Night*, i. v. 269: "You are too proud, But if you were the devil [*i.e.* as proud as he], you are fair;" and *Mirror for Magistrates*, *Life of Wolsey*, st. 52:—

"Your fault not half so great as was
 my pryde,
 For which offense fell Lucifer from
 skyes."

73. *going out*] This expression is used of foreign travel in Beaumont and Fletcher, *Wild-Goose Chase*, i. i. :—

"Upon my going out, at your request,

I left your Portion in La-Castre's hands."

74. *privy*] "participation in the knowledge of something private or secret"—*New Eng. Dict.*, which cites Fleming, *Contn. Holinshed*, iii. 1374 (1587 ed.): "He understood matters were determined in France without his privitie." The adjective is more common. See *3 Henry VI.* i. ii. 46: "And yet the king not privy to my drift." Hall (*Chron.* p. 773) relates that the Cardinal was magnificently installed in York "without making the kyng privye"; but Buckingham's charge here is unfounded, for the king had empowered him to arrange everything.

75. *file*] list. Cf. *Macbeth*, v. ii. 8:—

"Who knows if Donalbain be with his brother ?"—

"For certain, sir, he is not: I have a file

Of all the gentry."

76 78. *such* . . . *upon*] For "such who" instead of "such as," cf. *All's*

Aber.

I do know

80

Kinsmen of mine, three at the least, that have
By this so sicken'd their estates that never
They shall abound as formerly.

Buck.

O, many

Have broke their backs with laying manors on 'em
For this great journey. What did this vanity
But minister communication of
A most poor issue?

85

Well that Ends Well, III. vi. 24 : "Such I will have whom I am sure he knows not." There seems to be a mingling of two expressions, (a) "To whom he meant to give" and (b) "On whom he meant to lay." The confusion, if not a *lapsus calami*, may be intended to indicate the speaker's excitement.

79. *The . . . out*] Rightly explained by Pope—"by his own single authority, and without the concurrence of the council," as Malone proves by citing Holinshed, iii. 644 : "The peers of the realme receiving letters to prepare themselves to attend the king in this journeie, and no apparant necessarie cause expressed, why nor wherefore; seemed to grudge that such a costlie journie should be taken in hand to their importunate charges and expenses, without consent of the whole boord of the councill. But namely [*i.e.* especially] the duke of Buckingham, being a man of a lofty courage, but not most liberall, sore repined that he should be at so great charges for his furniture forth at this time, saieng that he knew not for what cause so much monie should be spent about the sight of a vaine talk to be had, and communication to be ministered of things of no importance. Wherefore he sticked not to saie, that it was an intollerable matter to obeie such a vile and importunate person." Johnson's explanation, "Council not then sitting," is as unsatisfactory as that of Steevens, "all mention of the board of council being left out of his letter."

80. *papers*] Pope doubtfully but correctly explains "papers down," by which he evidently means—writes or puts in his list. *New Eng. Dict.* quotes Carew, *Tasso*, 116 : "Forthwith then ech ones name is papered"; Warner,

Alb.^o Eng. xiv., To Rdr. 337 : "Set is the soveraigne Sonne did shine when paperd laste our penne." "Paupers," Staunton's conj., is a word of which *New Eng. Dict.* gives no earlier example than 1879.

82. *sicken'd*] Cf. *King John*, iv. ii. 128 : "What! mother dead! How wildly then walks my estate in France."

84. *Have . . . 'em*] Cf. N. Breton, *Pilgrimage to Paradise* (Chertsey Worthies Lib.), 17 b : "What lordshippes he hath laid upon his back"; and Lyly, *Works*, ed. Bond, ii. 121 : "an other layeth all his lyving uppon his backe, judging that women are wedded to braverie (= fine clothes)." Steevens quotes Chapman, *Il.* ii. (5th l. from end). "Proud-girle-like that doth ever beare her dowre upon her back"; and Malone adds, *King John*, II. i. 67-71 :—

"Rash, inconsiderate, fiery voluntaries
Have sold their fortunes at
their native homes,
Bearing their birthrights proudly
on their backs,
To make a hazard of new fortunes
here";

and Camden, *Remains* : "There was a nobleman merrily conceited, and riotously given, that having lately sold a manor of an hundred tenements, came ruffling into the court, saying, am not I a mighty man that beare an hundred houses on my backe."

86, 87. *minister . . . issue*] In the previous line "vanity" is, as often, folly, *i.e.* these foolish preparations or this foolish conference. If the later, we may explain—"what did the meeting do but talk to no purpose." The Carendon explanation may be better—"furnish occasion for a conference which led to a poor result." Still, I

Nor. Grieving I think,
The peace between the French and us not values
The cost that did conclude it.

Buck. Every man,
After the hideous storm that follow'd, was 90
A thing inspir'd, and not consulting broke
Into a general prophecy: That this tempest,
Dashing the garment of this peace, aboded
The sudden breach on't.

Nor. Which is budded out;
For France hath flaw'd the league, and hath
attach'd 95
Our merchants' goods at Bourdeaux.

Aber. Is it therefore
The ambassador is silenc'd?

Nor. Marry, is't.

think "minister communication" means rather to converse than to cause others to do so. See Beaumont and Fletcher, *Love's Pilgrimage*, II. i.: "among my fears tis greatest To minister offences," *i.e.* to offend, not to cause others to offend. Holinshed's words, "he knew not for what cause so much money should be spent and communication to be ministered of things of no importance," is intended to be a rendering of Polydore Vergil's "nescire se cur causae esset cur pecunia effunderetur, nisi in spectacula futura sermonum ludicrorum, aut in rerum colloquia leuiorum." Cf. Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Pratt, viii. 16: "It chanced an ignorant priest and parson . . . to sit on a time with his honest neighbours at the ale house within his own parish, where was communication ministered in commendation of my lord Cranmer," etc. This means "people talked in commendation" rather than "caused others to talk," etc. Staunton explains: "furnish discourse on the poverty of its result," *i.e.* he takes "of" to mean about, or concerning.

88. *not values*] is not worth. Cf. II. ii. 52: "It values not your asking."

91. *not consulting*] independently, spontaneously. In the next line "general" means universal, everyone said the same thing.

93. *aboded*] foreshadowed, was an omen of. Cf. 3 *Henry VI.* iv. vii. 13: "abodements," and *ibid.* v. vi. 45:

"aboding." Holinshed says (iii. 654): "On mondaie, the eighteenth of June, was such an hideous storme of wind and weather, that manie conjectured it did prognosticate trouble and hatred shortlie after to follow betweene princes."

94. *on't*] of it.

95. *flaw'd the league*] broken the treaty. Cf. I. ii. 21; and *King Lear*, v. iii. 196, where "flaw'd heart" means broken heart.

95. *attach'd*] seized; elsewhere in Shakespeare, *e.g.* *Othello*, I. ii. 77, used of persons. See Holinshed, iii. 676: "The sixt of March [1523], the French king commanded all Englishmens goods being in Burdeaux, to be attached and put under arrest."

97. *silenc'd*] See Holinshed, iii. 676: "The king understanding how his subjects were handled at Burdeaux . . . in breach of the league . . . the French ambassadour was called before the councill. . . . The ambassadour in words so well as hee could excused his maister, but in the end hee was commanded to keepe his house." Hall's words are: "the Ambassador was commaunded to kepe his house in silence, and not to come in presence, till he was sent for" (Hall, H. 8 ed. Whibley, i. 243). Stow says only that he was "commanded to keepe his house." It may be a mere coincidence that Hall's expression is nearer the text.

Aber. A proper title of a peace, and purchas'd
At a superfluous rate!

Buck. Why, all this business
Our reverend cardinal carried.

Nor. Like it your grace, 100
The state takes notice of the private difference
Betwixt you and the cardinal. I advise you—
And take it from a heart that wishes towards you
Honour and plenteous safety—that you read
The cardinal's malice and his potency 105
Together; to consider further that
What his high hatred would effect wants not
A minister in his power. You know his nature,
That he's revengeful, and I know his sword
Hath a sharp edge; it's long and't may be said 110
It reaches far, and where 'twill not extend,
Thither he darts it. Bosom up my counsel;
You'll find it wholesome. Lo, where comes that rock
That I advise your shunning.

103. *towards*] omitted Pope.

98. *A proper title of a peace*] Ironical. A well-named peace, if "proper" here means fitting, appropriate; but Johnson explained it as "fine" and the Clarendon ed. paraphrases: "A fine thing to call a peace." Prof. Case suggests that "title" may be used in its legal sense with which "purchas'd" goes. The phrase is found in Beaumont and Fletcher, *Beggar's Bush*, I. i.: "the earl of Flanders"—"By a proper title! Rais'd to it by cunning, circumvention, force, Blood and prescription."

99. *superfluous rate*] high price. Cf. "superfluous [*i. q.* abounding] courage" in *Henry V.* IV. II. 11; and *Merry Wives of Windsor*, II. II. 213: "a jewel that I have purchased at an infinite rate."

100. *carried*] managed. Reed compares II. 134, *infra*: "he 'll carry it so To make the sceptre his." So "well-carried" in *Much Ado About Nothing*, IV. I. 212, is well-managed.

100. *Like it*] May it please; here an apology for giving unasked advice.

Autolycus trifles with the meaning in *Winter's Tale*, IV. IV. 752-754: "Are you a courtier, an't like you, sir?"—"Whether it like me or no, I am a courtier."

101. *difference*] dispute, quarrel. Cf. *Richard II.* I. I. 201:—

"There shall your swords and lances
arbitrate
The swelling difference of your
settled hate."

104-108. *that . . . power*] In thinking of the cardinal's ill-will do not forget his power which is its servant or instrument.

107. *wants not*] is not destitute of. See *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, II. VI. 12: "He wants wit that wants resolved will"; and *As You Like It*, III. II. 26: "He that wants money, means and content, is without three good things."

112. *Bosom up*] hide in the bosom, keep secret. *New Eng. Dict.* cites Day, *Ile of Gulls*, B. IV. b: "Ile bosome what I thinke."

Enter CARDINAL WOLSEY, *the purse borne before him, certain of the Guard, and two Secretaries with papers.* The CARDINAL in his passage fixeth his eye on BUCKINGHAM, and BUCKINGHAM on him, both full of disdain.

Wol. The Duke of Buckingham's surveyor, ha! 115
Where's his examination?

First Sec. Here, so please you.

Wol. Is he in person ready?

First Sec. Ay, please your grace.

Wol. Well, we shall then know more; and Buckingham
Shall lessen this big look.

[*Exeunt Wolsey and his Train.*]

Buck. This butcher's cur is venom-mouth'd, and I 120
Have not the power to muzzle him; therefore best
Not wake him in his slumber. A beggar's book
Outworths a noble's blood.

Nor. What, are you chaf'd?
Ask God for temperance; that's the appliance only
Which your disease requires.

Buck. I read in's looks 125
Matter against me, and his eye revil'd

115. *Scene II.* Pope. 119. *this*] *his* Ff 3, 4. 120. *venom-mouth'd*] Pope; *venom'd-mouth'd*] Ff. 122. *book*] *brood* Collier ed. 2 and MS.; *look* Staunton conj.; *brat* Lettsom conj.

114. *the purse*] the bag containing the great seal, carried before the Lord Chancellor.

115. *The . . . surveyor*] his cousin, Charles Knyvet, grandson of Humphrey Stafford, 1st Duke of Buckingham.

120. *butcher's cur*] Polydore Vergil calls Wolsey's father a decent man but a butcher, "qui parentem habuit uirum probum, at taniū." See also Hall, pp. 703, 704: "when the common people . . . sawe the Cardinal kepe house in the Manor royall of Richmond, . . . it was a marvel to here how thei grudged and spid, see a Bochers dogge lye in the Manor of Richmond." Steevens cites Skelton's *Why come ye nat to Court*, ll. 289 seq. :—

"Our barons . . .
Dare nat loke out at dur
For drede of the mastyve cur,
For drede of the bochers dogge
Wold wyrry them lyke an hogge."

122. *Not wake him*] See Heywood, *Prov.*, 1562 (reprint 1867, p. 132):

"It is ill wakyng of a sleaping dogge" (*New Eng. Dict.*).

122, 123. *A beggar's . . . blood*] A beggarly scholar has more power than a well-born nobleman. For "book" = learning, see *Merry Wives of Windsor*, iv. i. 15, and 2 *Henry VI.* iv. vii. 77; but as Ritson points out Buckingham was himself learned. See i. ii. 111-114, *infra*.

123. *chaf'd*] heated; hence angry. Cotgrave has: "cholere. f. Choler, anger, fuming, testinesse, chafing," etc.

124. *temperance*] moderation, self-control. The Clarendon ed. quotes *Coriolanus*, iii. iii. 28: "Being once chafed, he cannot Be rein'd again to temperance."

124. *appliance*] remedy, medicine. See *Hamlet*, iii. iv. 10; and *Pericles*, iii. ii. 86. Cf. *appliable*, Lodge, *Reply to Gosson*, p. 5 (Shaks. Soc. 1851): "they like good Phisi[tions] should so frame their potions that they may be appliable to the quesie stomachs of their werish patients."

Me as his abject object : at this instant
 He bores me with some trick : he's gone to the king ;
 I'll follow and outstare him.

Nor. Stay, my lord,
 And let your reason with your choler question 130
 What 'tis you go about : to climb steep hills
 Requires slow pace at first : anger is like
 A full-hot horse, who being allow'd his way,
 Self-mettle tires him. Not a man in England
 Can advise me like you : be to yourself 135
 As you would to your friend. "

Buck. I'll to the king ;
 And from a mouth of honour quite cry down
 This Ipswich fellow's insolence, or proclaim
 There's difference in no persons.

Nor. Be advis'd ;
 Heat not a furnace for your foe so hot " 140
 That it do singe yourself : we may outrun,
 By violent swiftness, that which we run at,

133. *full-hot*] hyphenated F 4.

128. *bore* . . .] cheats, deceives (Clarendon ed.); "He undermines me with some device" (Staunton). Johnson explained: "He stabs or wounds me by some artifice or fiction." Becket conjectured *bords* from Fr. *Bourder* which meant to mock and to cheat, as well as to jest, but "to bore" and "to bore one's nose" seem used in the same sense. See Beaumont and Fletcher, *Spanish Curate*, iv. v.: "I am abus'd, betray'd, I am laugh'd at, scorn'd, Baffled, and boared, it seems"; *Monsieur Thomas*, iii. i.: "We came to do you good, but these young doctors it seems have bor'd our noses"; *Woman's Prize*, iv. i.: "But when I have done all this, and think it duty, Is't requisite an other bore my nostrils?"; *Island Princess*, ii. i.: "Your nose is boar'd."—"Boar'd? What's that?"—"Y'are topt, Sir, . . . That ever man should be fool'd so." Steevens cites *Life and Death of Lord Cromwell*, iii. ii. (Shaks. Apoc. p. 178 a): "One that hath gull'd you, that hath bored you, Sir."

131. *go about*] attempt.

133. *full-hot*] high spirited. Cf. *Julius Cæsar*, iv. ii. 23 :—

"But hollow men, like horses hot at hand,

Make gallant show and promise of their mettle :
 But when they should endure the bloody spur
 They fall their crests and like deceitful jades
 Sink in the trial,"

i.e. they have no staying power; Beaumont and Fletcher, *Woman's Prize*, i. iii.: "Y'are too hot, and such prove jades at last." Steevens compares Massinger, *Unnatural Combat*, iv. ii. 10: "Let his passion work, and, like a hot-reined [cf. hot-livered] horse, 'Twill quickly tire itself"; Malone adds *Lucrece*, l. 707: "Till, like a jade, Self-will himself doth tire."

134. *Self-mettle*] his own ardour. Cf. *Beggars' Bush*, i. i.: "the flajtering glass of self-deservings." In Thierry and Theodore (iv. i.), a self-bloud = act of suicide.

137-139. *And . . . persons*] "I will crush this base-born fellow by the due influence of my rank, or say that distinction of persons is at an end" (Johnson).

139. *Be advis'd*] be careful, look before you leap. See *Merchant of Venice*, i. i. 142; i. ii. 42, and notes, in this series.

140. *Heat not* . . .] Steevens refers to A.V. Daniel iii. 22.

And lose by over-running. Know you not,
The fire that mounts the liquor till 't runo'er
In seeming to augment it wastes it? Be advis'd: 145
I say again, there is no English soul
More stronger to direct you than yourself,
If with the sap of reason you would quench,
Or but allay, the fire of passion.

Buck. Sir,
I am thankful to you; and I'll go along 150
By your prescription: but this top-proud fellow—
Whom from the flow of gall I name not, but
From sincere motions—by intelligence
And proofs as clear as founts in July when
We see each grain of gravel, I do know 155
To be corrupt and treasonous.

Nor. Say not "treasonous."

Buck. To the king I'll say't; and make my vouch as strong
As shore of rock. Attend. This holy fox,
Or wolf, or both—for he is equal ravenous
As he is subtle, and as prone to mischief 160
As able to perform't; his mind and place
Infecting one another, yea, reciprocally—

145. *In seeming to*] *Seeming t'* S. Walker conj. 147. *More*] omitted Pope,
ending ll. 145, 146 at be . . . *English*. 152. *name*] *blame* Johnson conj.
159-162. *for . . . reciprocally*] Put in a parenthesis by Capell; (*for . . . per-*
form't) . . . *reciprocally*, Ff.

144. *mounts*] raises or causes to rise.
Cf. i. ii. 205, *infra*.

149. *allay*] temper, moderate, as in
Coriolanus, v. iii. 85: "Desire not To
allay my rages and revenges with Your
colder reason." The word "allay"
from O.E. *allegan*, to lay down or aside,
has been affected in meaning by "allay"
from Lat. *adligare*, to combine. The
latter is now spelt "alloy." Cotgrave
has "Allayer. To allay, or mix gold, or
silver with baser metals." "Quench"
and "allay" are again found together,
as here, in Beaumont and Fletcher, *The*
Prophetess, v. iii. :—

"What pains we take to cool our
wines to allay us,
And bury quick the fuming god to
quench us."

151. *top-proud*] proud to the highest
degree (Schmidt). Cf. "top-full" = full
to the brim (*King John*, iii. iv. 180).

152, 153. *Whom . . . motions*] Whom

I speak of thus from pure motives
(strictly, movements or impulses of the
spirits), not from spite. The gall
bladder was supposed to be the seat of
anger, rancour, etc. As Wolsey's name
had not been mentioned, Johnson pro-
posed *blame* for *name*. Capell placed
in a parenthesis the whole passage,
"Whom . . . gravel."

153. *intelligence*] information re-
ceived; the word often means espionage
or even spies.

157. *vouch*] attestation, evidence, as
in *Measure for Measure*, ii. iv. 156.

160-162. *as prone . . . reciprocally*] Buckingham repeats to Norfolk what Norfolk had said to him, see *ante*, ll. 107, 108—an evidence of dual authorship. The sense is—his mind urges him to mischief and his power enables him to be mischievous; while on the other hand, though this is not expressed, but suggested by "reciprocally," the fact

Only to show his pomp as well in France
 As here at home, suggests the king our master
 To this last costly treaty, the interview, 165
 That swallow'd so much treasure, and like a glass
 Did break i' the rinsing.

Nor.

Faith, and so it did.

Buck. Pray, give me favour, sir. This cunning cardinal
 The articles o' the combination drew
 As himself pleas'd; and they were ratified 170
 As he cried "Thus let be," to as much end
 As give a crutch to the dead: but our count-cardinal
 Has done this, and 'tis well; for worthy Wolsey,
 Who cannot err, he did it. Now this follows—
 Which, as I take it, is a kind of puppy 175
 To the old dam, treason—Charles the emperor,

167. *rinsing*] Pope; *wrenching* Ff.
 3, 4; *let it* Pope.

171. *Thus let*] Ff 1, 2; *Thus let it* Ff
 172. *count-cardinal*] *court-cardinal* Pope.

that he has the power prompts him to use it, the sight of means to do ill deeds makes ill deeds done.

164. *suggests*] prompts or tempts, usually in a bad sense, e.g. *Henry V.* 11. ii. 114:—

"All other devils that suggest by treasons

Do botch and bungle";

Richard II. 11. iv. 75: "What Eve, what serpent hath suggested thee?"

169. *articles*] the arrangements for the meeting. See Holinshed, 641: "Moreover, now that it was concluded that the kings of England and France should meet (as ye have heard) then both the kings committed the order and manner of their meeting, and how many days it should continue, and what preheminece each should give to other, unto the cardinall of Yorke, which to set all things in a certieintie, made an instrument, containing an order and direction concerning the premisses by him devised and appointed."

172. *count-cardinal*] Capell writes: "This Cardinal held (as it is call'd) in commendam three or four bishopricks, of which Durham was one; whose bishop being at that time intitl'd—*count-palatine*, this may have been the source of the appellation '*count-cardinal*,' but unless the editor [Capell] is greatly mistaken, he was also a foreign count, a count of the empire; either made so by Charles the fifth

upon some occasion or other, or else enjoying that dignity in virtue of another of his bishopricks, that of Tournay; and this latter way of accounting for the appellation in question is the most eligible certain [*sic*], as being the most invidious." Pope read *court* for *count*. Malone compared "king-cardinal" (11. ii. 20), an expression which cannot be explained on Capell's principles.

176-190. *Charles . . . peace*] The emperor Charles V. landed at Dover on the 22nd May, 1520. Holinshed (p. 646) says "speciallie to see the queene of England his aunt was the emperour his intent. . . . The chiefe cause that mooved the emperour to come thus on land at this time, was to perswade that by word of mouth, which he had before done most earnestlie by letters; which was, that the King should not meet with the French King at any intreviue: for he doubted least if the King of England & the French King should grow into some great friendship and faithful bond of amitie, it might turn him to displeasure. But now that he perceived how the King was forward on his jounie, he did what he could to procure, that no trust should be committed to the faire woords of the Frenchmen and that if it were possible, the great friendship that was now breeding betwixt the two kings, might be dissolved. And forasmuch as he

Under pretence to see, the queen his aunt—
 For 'twas indeed his colour, but he came
 To whisper Wolsey—here makes visitation :
 His fears were that the interview betwixt 180
 England and France might through their amity
 Breed him some prejudice ; for from this league
 Peep'd harms that menac'd him : he privily
 Deals with our cardinal ; and, as I trow—
 Which I do well, for I am sure the emperor 185
 Paid ere he promised ; whereby his suit was granted
 Ere it was ask'd—but when the way was made
 And pav'd with gold, the emperor thus desir'd,
 That he would please to alter the king's course,
 And break the foresaid peace. Let the king know, 190
 As soon he shall by me, that thus the cardinal
 Does buy and sell his honour as he pleases,
 And for his own advantage.

Nor.

I am sorry

To hear this of him, and could wish he were
 Something mistaken in 't.

183. *he*] omitted F 1. 185. *Which . . . sure*] In a parenthesis, Vaughan conj. 188. *thus*] *then* Hudson (S. Walker conj.).

knew the lord cardinall to be woone with rewards, as a fish with a bait, he bestowed on him great gifts, and promised him much more, so that hee would be his freend and helpe to bring his purpose to passe. The cardinall not able to susteine the least assault by force of such rewards as he presentlie received, and of such large promises as on the emperours behalfe were made to him, promised to the emperour, that he would so use the matter, as his purpose should be sped: onelie he required him not to disalow the Kings intent for interview to be had, which he desired in any wise to go forward, that he might shew his high magnificence in France, according to his first intention."

177. *aunt*] His mother, Joanna, was Katharine of Arragon's sister.

178. *colour*] excuse or pretext. Cf. *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, iv. ii. 3: "Under the colour of commending him, I have access my own love to prefer"; *Winter's Tale*, iv. iv. 566: "What colour for my visitation shall I Hold up before him?—sent by the King," etc.

183-190. *he . . . peace*] R. Simpson

thought this charge false, but a hit at James's ministers in the pay of Spain. He also supposed that by Wolsey's oppression of the nobles under Henry VIII. Shakespeare hinted at Cecil's under Elizabeth. See New Shaks. Soc. Trans., ser. i. pt. i. p. 426.

183-192. *he . . .*] Capell writes: "We are not to look for construction in some following sentences, in which the passion of the speaker o'erpowers him; causing him to heap matter on matter, 'till in the end he forgets himself, and has much ado to recover his first topick in any way: the reader's clue to recover it, is—the punctuation observ'd in this copy" [*i.e.* Capell's own edition]. F 1's omission of *he* in l. 183 might be similarly explained, and *menaced* pronounced as three syllables.

192. *buy and sell*] a proverbial expression; cf. *Richard III.* v. iii. 305 (Malone). Steevens cites also *Comedy of Errors*, iii. i. 72, and *1 Henry VI.* iv. 13. But the meaning here seems to be "traffic in," whereas in the passages cited above, and elsewhere in Shakespeare, it is rather betray or delude.

194, 195. *he . . . mistaken*] Capell restored *he* (F1 1-3) for *you* (F 4) as more

Buck. No, not a syllable : 195
 I do pronounce him in that very shape
 He shall appear in proof.

Enter BRANDON, *a Sergeant at arms before him, and two or three of the Guard.*

Bran. Your office, sergeant ; execute it.

Serg. Sir,
 My lord the Duke of Buckingham, and Earl
 Of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton, I 200
 Arrest thee of high treason, in the name
 Of our most sovereign king.

Buck. Lo you, my lord,
 The net has fall'n upon me ! I shall perish ,
 Under device and practice.

Bran. I am sorry
 To see you ta'en from liberty, to look on 205
 The business present : 'tis his highness' pleasure
 You shall to the Tower.

Buck. It will help me nothing
 To plead mine innocence ; for that dye is on me
 Which makes my whitest part black. The will of
 heaven
 Be done in this and all things ! I obey. 210
 O my Lord Abergavenny, fare you well !

198. Scene III. Pope. Brandon] Marney, Capell conj. 205. *to look on]*
and t' attend Wordsworth conj. 209. *whitest] whit'st* F I. 211. *Aber-*
gavenny] Abargany Ff.

polite. "Something mistaken" means somewhat misrepresented or misinterpreted ; in Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Prophetess*, I. iii., "you much mistake her," is equivalent to you are unduly discrediting her.

197. *in proof]* in experience, on trial. Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, I. i. 176 : "Alas that love so gentle in his view [*i.e.* appearance] Should be so tyrannous and rough in proof" ; *Hamlet*, IV. vii. 155 :—

"This project
 Should have a back or second that
 might hold

If this should blast in proof."

197. *Enter Brandon]* Mr. Boswell Strong suggested that this may have been "Sir Thomas Brandon, master of the King's horse," and Capell that Brandon was the name of the actor who played the part of Sir Henry Marney: See Holinshed, iii. p. 658 : "The duke

herupon was sent for up to London, & at his coming thither, was straightwaies attached, and brought to the Tower by Sir Henrie Marneie, capteine of the gard, the sixteenth of Aprill." [1521].

200. *Hereford]* Capell's correction, after Holinshed, of *Hertford*. Buckingham's great-grandfather used the title, his mother being grand-daughter of the last Earl of Hereford.

204. *practice]* treacherous machinations. See *Coriolanus*, IV. i. 33: "caught with cautelous baits and practice" ; *Othello*, V. ii. 292 : "Fall'n in the practice of a damned slave."

204-206. *I . . . present]* I am sorry that I am obliged to be present and an eyewitness of your loss of liberty (Johnson).

211. *Abergavenny]* In Ff spelt phonetically, *Aburgany*. Cf. "Aburgany," Grafton's Chronicle (reprint), p. 310.

Bran. Nay, he must bear you company. [*To Abergavenny*]

The king

Is pleas'd you shall to the Tower, till you know
How he determines further.

Aber. As the duke said,
The will of heaven be done, and the king's pleasure 215
By me obey'd!

Bran. Here is a warrant from
The king to attach Lord Montacute; and the bodies
Of the duke's confessor, John de la Car,
One Gilbert Peck, his chancellor,—

Buck. So, so;
These are the limbs o' the plot: no more, I hope. 220

Bran. A monk o' the Chartreux.

Buck. O, Nicholas Hopkins?

Bran. He.

Buck. My surveyor is false; the o'er great cardinal
Hath show'd him gold; my life is spann'd already:
I am the shadow of poor Buckingham,
Whose figure even this instant cloud puts on, 225
By darkening my clear sun. My lord, farewell.

[*Exeunt.*]

217. *Montacute*] *Mountacute* Ff; *Montague* Rowe. 219. *One*] *And* Pope,
ed. 2 (Theobald). *chancellor*,—] Capell; *chancellor*, Pope, ed. 2 (Theobald);
Counsellour or *Counsellour* Ff. 221. *Nicholas*] Pope, ed. 2 (Theobald);
Michaell or *Michael* Ff. 225, 226. *Whose . . . darkening*] *Whose figure, c'en*
this instant, clouds jut on, Dark'ning Becket conj. *puts on*] *puts out* Rann
(Theobald conj.); *puts on* Stevens conj. 226. *By darkening*] *Be-darkening*
Stevens conj. *lord*] Rowe; *Lords* Ff.

212-221. *The king . . . Hopkins*] See Holinshed, iii. p. 658: "There was also attached [*i.e.* arrested] the foresaid Chartreux monke [Nicholas Hopkins], maister John de la Car *alias* de la Court, the dukes confessor, and Sir Gilbert Perke priest, the dukes chancellor." Abergavenny and Montacute were arrested later. "After the apprehension of the duke, inquisitions were taken in diverse shires of England of him; so that by the knights and gentlemen, he was indicted of high treason, for certeine words spoken . . . by the same duke at Blechinglie, to the lord of Aburgavennie: and therewith was the same lord attached for concelement, and so likewise was the lord Montacute, and both led to the Tower."

219. *Peck*] *Perke* in Holinshed. *Pecke* and *Perke* are probably, as the Clarendon ed. suggests, corruptions of *clerk* = clergyman. "In the papers

connected with the trial of the Duke of Buckingham, now in the Record Office, the name of the Duke's chaplain and confessor appears as John Delacourt, and his chancellor is called Robert Gilbert clerk."

223. *spann'd*] Reed explains "*ended*." Cf. Ps. xxxix. 6 (Prayer Book Version): "Behold, thou hast made my days as it were a span long." See also *As You Like It*, iii. ii. 139: "the stretching of a span Buckles in his sum of age"; *Timon of Athens*, v. iii. 3: "Timon is dead who hath outstretched his span." Johnson says: "To span is to gripe . . . also to measure. . . . The meaning, therefore, may either be, that 'hold is taken of my life, my life is in the grip of my enemies,' or, that 'my time is measured, the length of my life is now determined'." The latter explanation seems preferable.

224-226. *I . . . sun*] This passage

SCENE II.—*The same. The council-chamber.*

Cornets. Enter KING HENRY, leaning on the Cardinal's shoulder; the Nobles, and SIR THOMAS LOVELL: the Cardinal places himself under the King's feet on his right side.

King. My life itself, and the best heart of it,
Thanks you for this great care: I stood i' the level

Scene II.] Scene IV. Pope. The same] Cam. Edd. The council-chamber] Theobald.

was pronounced inexplicable by Johnson and later by Halliwell. It may be questioned whether we should refer "Whose," l. 225, with Johnson, to Buckingham or, with Blackstone, to "shadow"; whether "this instant" means at this moment or whether "instant" is an adjective meaning either immediately present or imminent and threatening. Again, is "cloud" subject or object of "puts on," and does it denote Wolsey himself or Buckingham's arrest and danger? Lastly, is Buckingham or Henry intended by the words "clear sun"? Perhaps "shadow" here, as often, means picture, and this suggests "figure" in the next line, where the metaphor changes, and the meaning is: "I am but the image or semblance of what I was. At this very moment my form is obscured by the overthrow of my pomp and power." But it must be admitted that "By darkening," etc., is an awkward expression for "By the darkening of," etc. The Clarendon ed. explains: "As Buckingham is thus but the shadow of his former self, the impending cloud of calamity assumes his figure and resembles him, being the shadow which darkens the brightness of his prosperity." But "instant" does not mean impending elsewhere in Shakespeare, nor do impending clouds assume the shape of the objects they darken. Johnson writes: "If the usage of our author's time could allow *figure* to be taken, as now, for *dignity* or *importance*, we might read: 'whose figure even this instant cloud puts out.' But I cannot please myself with any conjecture. Another explanation may be given, somewhat harsh, but the best that occurs to me: . . . 'whose port and dignity is assumed by the Cardinal, that overclouds and oppresses me, and

who gains my place "By dark'ning my clear sun"'. M. Mason remarks that Johnson did not do justice to his own emendation, referring the words *whose figure* to Buckingham, when, in fact, they relate to *shadow*. Blackstone had anticipated this when he wrote: "By adopting Dr. Johnson's first conjecture 'puts out' for 'puts on,' a tolerable sense may be given to these obscure lines. 'I am but the shadow of poor Buckingham: and even the figure or outline of this shadow begins now to fade away, being extinguished by this impending cloud, which darkens (or interposes between me and) my clear sun; that is, the favour of my sovereign'." Steevens conjectured "puts on," *i.e.* looks gloomily upon, and adds: "Wolsey could only reach Buckingham through the medium of the King's power. The Duke therefore compares the Cardinal to a cloud, which intercepts the rays of the sun, and throws a gloom over the object beneath it. 'I am (says he) but the shadow of poor Buckingham, on whose figure this impending cloud looks gloomy, having got between me and the sunshine of royal favour.'" The sound of "cloud puts out" and of "cloud puts on" seems enough to condemn these conjectures. Steevens also suggested "Be-darkening" for "By darkening," which is, perhaps, more ingenious than helpful.

Act I. Scene II.] By Shakespeare (Spedding); by Massinger (Boyle).

1. *heart*] *heart* is not here taken for the great organ of circulation and life, but, in a common and popular sense, for the most valuable or precious part. Cf. "heart of heart," *Hamlet*, III. ii. 78 (Johnson).

2, 3. *i' the level Of*] aimed at by. Cf. *Lover's Complaint*, l. 309:—

Of a full-charg'd confederacy, and give thanks
To you that chok'd it. Let be call'd before us
That gentleman of Buckingham's; in person 5
I'll hear him his confessions justify;
And point by point the treasons of his master
He shall again relate.

A noise within, crying "Room for the Queen!" Enter QUEEN KATHARINE, ushered by the DUKE OF NORFOLK, and the DUKE OF SUFFOLK: she kneels. The King riseth from his state, takes her up, kisses and placeth her by him.

Q. Kath. Nay, we must longer kneel: I am a suitor.
King. Arise, and take place by us: half your suit 10
Never name to us; you have half our power:
The other moiety ere you ask is given;
Repeat your will and take it.

Q. Kath. Thank your majesty.
That you would love yourself, and in that love
Not unconsider'd leave your honour nor 15
The dignity of your office, is the point
Of my petition.

4. *chok'd*] *check'd* Keightley conj.
Queene, Norfolk and Suffolk Ff.

"Not a heart which in his level
came
Could 'scape the hail of his all
hurting aim"

(Steevens); *Sonnet cxvii.* 11:—

"Bring me within the level of your
frown

But shoot not at me";

Winter's Tale, III. ii. 82: "My life
stands in the level of your dreams"
(Malone). So in Beaumont and Fletcher,
Island Princess, I. i., "miss their
level" means miss their aim.

3. *full-charg'd*] fully loaded. Cf.
King John, II. i. 382: "Their batter-
ing cannon charged to their mouths."

3. *confederacy*] conspiracy. Cf. *Mid-
summer Night's Dream*, III. ii. 192;
1 Henry IV. IV. iv. 38.

4. *chok'd*] This continues the meta-
phor from cannon. Cf. Beaumont and
Fletcher, *Mad Lover*, I. i.: "If he
mount at me I may chance choak his
battery," but, as the Clarendon ed.
notes, it is not very appropriate, for the
conspiracy has just been likened to a
cannon loaded to the muzzle.

9. Enter . . . Suffolk] Enter the

6. *justify*] prove or support by proof.
See *Tempest*, V. i. 128:—

"Were I so minded,
I here could pluck his highness'
frown upon you,
And justify you traitors";
Beaumont and Fletcher, *Philaster*, I. i.:
"I will justify they cannot maintain
discourse with a judicious Lady, or
make a Leg, or say Excuse me";
Spanish Curate, V. ii.:—

"I will justify upon my life and
credit

What you have heard, for truth."

Stage Direction 4. *state*] chair of
state. Cf. *Twelfth Night*, II. v. 50; the
fuller expression occurs in *3 Henry VI.*
I. i. 51.

12. *moiety*] half. Cf. *Winter's Tale*,
III. ii. 40:—

"For behold me
A fellow of the royal bed, which
owe [*i.e.* own]
A moiety of the throne."

13. *Repeat . . . it*] Say what you
wish me to give you and it is yours.

King.

Lady mine, proceed.

Q. Kath. I am solicited, not by a few,

And those of true condition, that your subjects
 Are in great grievance : there have been commissions 20
 Sent down among 'em, which hath flaw'd the heart
 Of all their loyalties : wherein although,
 My good lord cardinal, they vent reproaches
 Most bitterly on you as putter on
 Of these exactions, yet the king our master— 25
 Whose honour heaven shield from soil !—even he escapes
 not

Language unmannerly, yea, such which breaks
 The sides of loyalty, and almost appears
 In loud rebellion.

Nor.

Not almost appears ;

It doth appear ; for, upon these taxations, 30
 The clothiers all, not able to maintain
 The many to them 'longing, have put off

21. *hath*] have F 4. 28. *sides*] *tides* Becket conj. ; *ties* Collier, ed. 2 and MS.
 32. *'longing*] F 4 ; *longing* Ff 1-3.

20-29. *there . . . rebellion*] See Holinshed, iii. 708, 709 : "The King being determined thus to make wars in France, & to passe the sea himself in person, his counsell considered that above all things great treasure and plentie of monie must needes be provided. Wherefore, by the cardinall there was devised strange commissions, and sent in the end of March into everie shire . . . that the sixt part of everie mans substance should be paid in monie or plate to the King without delaie, for the furniture of his war. Hereof followed such cursing, weeping, and exclamation against both King & cardinal that pitie it was to heare."

21. *flaw'd . . .*] wounded their loyalty to death, caused them to rebel. "Flaw" is used of the heart in *King Lear*, II. iv. 288 : "This heart shall break Into a thousand flaws or ere I'll weep," and v. iii. 196 : "but his flaw'd heart . . . Burst smilingly." Holinshed says : "the burthen was so greivous, that it was generally [*i.e.* by all] denied, and the commons in everie place so moved, that it was like to grow to rebellion."

24. *putter on*] inciter, instigator. Cf. *Winter's Tale*, II. i. 141 :—

"You are abused and by some
 putter-on
 That will be damnd for it."

31-37. *The . . . them*] See Holinshed, iii. p. 709 : "The duke of Suffolke sitting in commission about this subsidie in Suffolke, persuaded by courtious meanes the rich clothiers to assent thereto : but when they came home, and went about to discharge and put from them their spinners, carders, fullers, weavers, and other artificers, which they kept in worke afore time, the people began to assemble in companies . . . the duke . . . commanded the constables that everie mans harnes should be taken from him . . . then the rage of the people increased, railing openlie on the duke, and Sir Robert Drurie, and threatening them with death and the cardinall also. And herwith there assembled together after the maner of rebels foure thousand men . . . which put themselves in harnesse, and rang the bels alarme, and began still to assemble in great number."

32. *'longing*] belonging, as in *All's Well that Ends Well*, IV. ii. 42 : "It is an honour longing to our house."

The spinsters, carders, fullers, weavers, who,
 Unfit for other life, compell'd by hunger
 And lack of other means, in desperate manner 35
 Daring the event to the teeth, are all in uproar,
 And danger serves among them.

King. Taxation!
 Wherein? and what taxation? my lord cardinal,
 You that are blam'd for it alike with us,
 Know you of this taxation?

Wol. Please you, sir, 40
 I know but of a single part in aught
 Pertains to the state, and front but in that file
 Where others tell steps with me.

Q. Kath. No, my lord,
 You know no more than others: but you frame
 Things that are known alike, which are not whole-
 some • 45
 To those which would not know them, and yet must
 Perforce be their acquaintance. These exactions,
 Whereof my sovereign would have note, they are
 Most pestilent to the hearing; and, to bear 'em,
 The back is sacrifice to the load. They say 50
 They are devis'd by you; or else you suffer
 Too hard an exclamation.

45. *known alike*] *known*, *belike* Collier, ed. 2 (Theobald conj.).

33. *spinsters*] spinners. Cf. *Twelfth Night*, II. iv. 45; *Othello*, I. i. 24. "Spinner" in Shakespeare always means spider, e.g. in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II. ii. 21; *Romeo and Juliet*, I. iv. 59.

36. *Daring . . . teeth*] Boldly facing the result of their rising. The phrase occurs again in *Hamlet*, III. iii. 63; "Even to the teeth and forehead of our faults". Cf. *ibid.* IV. vii. 57.

37. *danger*] In mediaeval French and English poetry the obstacles to success of a lover or of a courtier are often personified as Danger. Here, the personification may have been suggested by the rebels' answer to Norfolk: "that Poverty was their capteine, the which with his cousine Necessitie had brought them to that dooing" (Holinshed, III. 709).

42. *front . . . file*] I am first in order rather than in power, more conspicuous not more influential, just as the first of

a file of soldiers is. In *Sonnet* cii. 7, "summer's front" means the beginning of summer. For "file," cf. Beaumont and Fletcher, *Little French Lawyer*, I. i. :—

"the city ranks me
 In the first file of her most hopeful
 gentry."
 43. *tell steps*] march; "tell" is strictly "count."

44, 45. *You . . . alike*] i.e. Of course the measures passed by the Council are known to all its members alike, but it is you who originate them.

48. *note*] knowledge, as in *Julius Cæsar*, I. ii. 181: "worthy note"; *Henry V.* II. ii. 6: "The king hath note of all that they intend."

52. *exclamation*] reproach; always so used in Shakespeare. The seeming exception, *Much Ado About Nothing*, III. v. 28, "I hear as good exclamation on your worship as of any man in the city," is one of Dogberry's malapropisms.

King.

Still exaction!

The nature of it? in what kind, let's know,
Is this exaction?

Q. Kath.

I am much too venturous

In tempting of your patience, but am bolden'd 55

Under your promis'd pardon. The subjects' grief
Comes through commissions, which compel from each

The sixth part of his substance, to be levied

Without delay; and the pretence for this

Is nam'd your wars in France: this makes bold

mouths:

60

Tongues spit their duties out, and cold hearts freeze

Allegiance in them; their curses now

Live where their prayers did; and it's come to pass,

This tractable obedience is a slave

To each incensed will. I would your highness 65

Would give it quick consideration, for

There is no primer business.

King.

By my life,

This is against our pleasure.

Wol.

And for me,

I have no further gone in this than by

A single voice, and that not pass'd me but 70

By learned approbation of the judges. If I am

Traduc'd by ignorant tongues, which neither know

My faculties nor person, yet will be

The chronicles of my doing, let me say "

'Tis but the fate of place, and the rough brake 75

That virtue must go through. We must not stint

57. *compel*] Pope; *compels* Ff. 62. *their*] Ff; *all their* Pope; *nay, their* Capell; *that their* Dyce, ed. 2 (S. Walker conj.); *yea, their* Kinnear conj.
64. *This*] *That* Rowe; *Their* Collier, ed. 2 and MS. 67. *business*] Hammer (Warburton); *baseness* or *baseness* Ff. 71, 72. *If . . . know*] As one line omitting *ignorant* Pope.

56. *grief*] grievance. Cf. *Julius Cæsar*, i. iii. 118: "Be factious for repression of all these griefs."

60. *wars in France*] See note on ll. 20-29.

64, 65. *tractable . . . will*] "the people were so much irritated by oppression that their resentment got the better of their obedience" (M. Mason).

70. *voice*] vote, support. Cf. *Coriolanus*, ii. iii. 164: "Have you chose this man?"—"He has our voices, sir"; *Richard III.* iii. ii. 53:—

"But, that I give my voice on Richard's side,
To bar my master's heirs in true descent,
God knows I will not do it."

For the matter, see Holinshed, iii. 710: "The cardinal excused himselfe and said, that when it was mooved in council how to levie money to the Kings use; the Kings councill, and namelie the judges, said that he might lawfullie demand anie summe by commission, and that by consent of the whole

Our necessary actions, in the fear
 To cope malicious censurers; which ever,
 As ravenous fishes, do a vessel follow
 That is new-trimm'd, but benefit no further 80
 Than vainly longing. What we oft do best,
 By sick interpreters, once weak ones, is
 Not ours or not allow'd; what worst, as oft,
 Hitting a grosser quality, is cried up
 For our best act. If we shall stand still, 85
 In fear our notion will be mock'd or carp'd at,

82. *sick . . . once*] *such . . . once* Keightley conj.; *such . . . or* Lloya conj.
once] Ff; or Pope; and Becket conj. 85. *act*] *action* Capell. 85, 86. *For*
. . . fear] As one line omitting *shall*, with F 4, Pope. 86. *carp'd*] *carped*
 Pope. 9

council it was doone, and tooke God to witnes that he never desired the hinderance of the commons, but like a true councillor devised how to enrich the King."

78. *To cope*] To engage with, encounter (Johnson). Cf. *As You Like It*, II. i. 57: "I love to cope him in these sullen fits" (Steevens). It is derived from the Latin *colaphus* and originally meant "to come to blows with." See *New Eng. Dict.* and note on *Venus and Adonis*, l. 888, in this series.

80. *new-trimm'd*] a nautical expression, explained as new-caulked by Capell, who thought the smell of caulking likely to be attractive to sharks. Cf. Holinshed, iii. 676: "All the Kings ships were put in a readinesse, so that by the beginning of Aprill, they were rigged and trimmed, readie to make sail." The general sense is—slanderers can do no more against honest men than sharks against sailors in a seaworthy vessel. "New-trimm'd" does not explain why the ships are attractive but why they are secure.

82. *By . . . ones*] Capell calls this "An oblique reflection, intended (as we may judge) for the Queen; who, upon some occasion or other, had called the Cardinal's censurers weak people." The Clarendon ed. explains: "by interpreters who were in the first instance incapable of judging his motives, and had since become morbidly prejudiced against him." I would rather take "once" in the idiomatic sense now lost, of—in one word, once for all, in fine, or in fact, and explain: "By persons incapable of a sound judgment, in fact of weak understanding." For *once*

so used, see Sidney, *Arcadia*, ed. Feuillerat, i. 17: "the good old man . . . became his servant by the bondes such vertue laid upon him; *once* hee acknowledged himselfe so to be, by the badge of diligent attendance"; pp. 27, 28: "even children will begin to versifie. *Once*, ordinary it is among the meaner sorte, to make songes and dialogues in meeter"; p. 38: "comfort seemed to lighten in his [Kalanders] eyes, and that in his face and gesture were painted victorie. *Once* Kalanders spirits were so revived that" etc.; p. 66: "some perchaunce loving my state, others my person, but *once* I know all of them, however much my possessions were in their harts, my beauty (such as it is) was in their mouthes." Steevens writes: "The modern editors read—or weak ones; but *once* is not unfrequently used for *sometime*, or *at one time* or *other*, among our ancient writers."

83. *Not . . . allow'd*] condemned or attributed to others. *Allow* (*ad laudare*) in the sense of approve is found in *Troilus and Cressida*, III. ii. 98: "Praise as we are tasted, allow us as we prove"; cf. *Merry Wives of Windsor*, II. ii. 236: "*Authentic* in your place and person, generally allowed for your many war-like, court-like, and learned preparations."

84. *Hitting . . . quality*] Johnson explains: "The worst actions of great men are commended by the vulgar, as more accommodated to the grossness of their notions." In F 1 there is no comma after *oft*, and the meaning seems to be: "Hitting as our worst actions often do," etc.

We should take root here where we sit, or sit
State-statues only.

King. Things done well,
And with a care, exempt themselves from fear;
Things done without example, in their issue 90
Are to be fear'd. Have you a precedent
Of this commission? I believe, not any.
We must not rend our subjects from our laws,
And stick them in our will. Sixth part of each?
A trembling contribution! Why, we take 95
From every tree lop, bark, and part o' the timber,
And though we leave it with a root, thus hack'd,
The air will drink the sap. To every county
Where this is question'd send our letters, with "
Free pardon to each man that has denied 100
The force of this commission: pray, look to't;
I put it to your care.

Wol. [To the Secretary] A word with you.
Let there be letters writ to every shire,
Of the king's grace and pardon. The griev'd commons
Hardly conceive of me: let it be nois'd 105

95. *trembling*] *trebling* Collier, ed. 2 and MS. 97. *root, thus*] *roote* (or *root*) thus Ff.

95. *A trembling contribution*] A terrible demand, one that causes trembling. Cf. "trembling winter," *Winter's Tale*, iv. iv. 81.

95. *Why, we take*] i.e. Why, if we do this, we take, etc.

96. *lop*] *New Eng. Dict.* defines: "The smaller branches and twigs of trees, such as are not measured for timber; faggot-wood, loppings. Also, a branch lopped off."

101. *force*] *New Eng. Dict.* cites the passage under heading "8. Of a law etc. Binding power, validity." If this is right, the clause means, "who has said that the commission is not legal." But "denied" in the previous line may mean refused and "force" enforcement—and the sense be "rejected the enforcement, would not allow the commission to be enforced." The verb "force" means enforce in III. ii. 1, *infra*. Hall and Holinshed have "denied the demand."

104. *grieved*] Rowe read *griev'd*. I have followed F x partly for the sound's

sake and partly because where the word is clearly a monosyllable the Folio has, with perhaps one exception, *gri'u'd* or *greu'd*. It occurs 19 times, viz. 11 times with apostrophe as a monosyllable, once as a monosyllable (?) with *ed* (*Taming of the Shrew*, iv. v. 64), and 5 times as a dissyllable with *ed*. In two cases, both with *ed*, the pronunciation is doubtful—here, and in *Hamlet*, II. ii. 65, where it ends the line.

105. *Hardly conceive*] Think harshly, take an unfavourable view, of my actions. Cf. "hardly [*i.e.* grudgingly] borne," in *Richard III.* II. i. 57.

105. *nois'd*] reported. Cf. St. Mark II. 1: "It was noised that He was in the house." See Holinshed, iii. 710: "The King indeed was much offended that his commons were thus intreated, & thought it touched his honor, that his counsell should attempt such a doubtful matter, in his name, and to be denied both of the spiritualitie and temporality. Therefore he would no more of that trouble, but caused letters

That through our intercession this revokement
And pardon comes ; I shall anon advise you
Further in the proceeding. [Exit Secretary.

Enter Surveyor.

Q. Kath. I am sorry that the Duke of Buckingham
Is run in your displeasure.

King. It grieves many : 110
The gentleman is learn'd and a most rare speaker ;
To nature none more bound ; his training such
That he may furnish and instruct great teachers,
And never seek for aid out of himself. Yet see,
When these so noble benefits shall prove 115
Not well dispos'd, the mind growing once corrupt,
They turn to vicious forms, ten times more ugly
Than ever they were fair. This man so complete,
Who was enroll'd 'mongst wonders, and when we,
Almost with ravish'd listening, could not find 120
His hour of speech a minute ; he, my lady,

109. Scene v. Pope. 111. *learn'd . . . rare*] *learn'd, a most rare Pope ;*
learned ; a rare Seymour conj. 115. *these so*] omitted Pope, reading *Yet*
. . . prove as one line. 120. *ravish'd listening*] *list'ning ravish'd* Pope.

to be sent into all shires, that the matter should no further be talked of, & he pardoned all that had denied the demand openlie or secretlie. The cardinal, to deliver himself of the evil will of the commons, purchased by procuring & advancing of this demand, affirmed, and caused it to be bruted abroad, that through his intercession the King had pardoned and released all things."

110. *Is run in*] has incurred. Cf. *All's Well that Ends Well*, II. v. 39. "I have deserved to run into my lord's displeasure."

111. *learn'd*] Holinshed says "he was an eloquent man"; Hall is silent. The French prose romance, *Helyas the Knight of the Swanne*, as Stevens notes, was translated at his request. In this case his patronage of learning may be explained by the words of Copland the printer, "of whom [*viz.* Helyas] linially is descended my said lord."

112. *To . . . bound*] *i.e.* equal to any one in natural abilities; "bound" means under obligations to, indebted

to. *New Eng. Dict.* cites Euphues (Arb.), 33: "It was doubted whether he were more bound to Nature . . . or to Fortune."

114. *out of himself*] beyond the treasures of his own mind (Johnson). "Out" means outside of, as in III. II. 13, *infra* :—

"when did he regard
The stamp of nobleness in any
person
Out of himself?"

116. *dispos'd*] placed, *i.e.* granted to an ambitious and unscrupulous man. So Johnson: "Great gifts of nature and education, not joined with good dispositions"; but the Clarendon ed. explains: "not employed to good ends," comparing *King John*, III. iv. 11: "So hot a speed with such advice disposed."

118. *complete*] Accented on the first syllable as is usual in Shakespeare, but on the second in III. II. 49, *infra*. Cf. *Timon of Athens*, IV. III. 244.

120. *ravish'd listening*] rapt attention, enchanted ears. Pope transposed the words.

Hath into monstrous habits put the graces
 That once were his, and is become as black
 As if besmear'd in hell. Sit by us; you shall hear—
 This was his gentleman in trust—of him 125
 Things to strike honour sad. Bid him recount
 The fore-recited practices; whereof
 We cannot feel too little, hear too much.

Wol. Stand forth, and with bold spirit relate what you,
 Most like a careful subject, have collected, 130
 Out of the Duke of Buckingham.

King. Speak freely.

Surv. First, it was usual with him, every day
 It would infect his speech, that if the king
 Should without issue die, he'll carry it so
 To make the sceptre his: these very words 135
 I've heard him utter to his son-in-law,
 Lord Abergavenny, to whom by oath he menac'd
 Revenge upon the cardinal.

Wol. Please your highness, note
 This dangerous conception in this point.
 Not friended by his wish, to your high person 140

134. *he'll*] *he'd* Pope. 139. *This*] *His* Pope; *The* Keightley conj. 140.
wish, . . . person] *wish . . . person*; Ff.

122, 123. *Hath . . . his*] Appears as deformed as a man disguised as a monster. Prof. Case writes: "My view is that Elizabethans and Jacobean cared nothing about whether anything seemed absurd or not, provided the general sense was adjustable by the mind in spite of confusion of antecedents or, as in this case, an apparent contradiction between graces that were and graces that are. Now in 1. ii. 110, etc., the graces of Buckingham are defined—he is learned, a most rare speaker, exceptionally gifted by nature, perfected in knowledge and its use by training. These are qualities or abilities which are graces as long as they are well used, but put to a bad use they become instruments of evil and take on vicious forms. What follows repeats this in another shape. This man of many abilities, of superlative eloquence, has put these abilities or qualities (which as they at first showed themselves were graces and garbed as such) into the dress of monsters; *i.e.* put to vicious uses, they no longer appear as graces but take a vicious form, and no longer appear admirable but shocking."

132-138. *First . . . cardinal*] See Holinshed, iii. 657: "this Knevet being had in examination before the cardinall, disclosed all the dukes life. And first he uttered, that the duke was accustomed by waie of talk, to saie, how he meant so to use the matter, that he would attaine to the crowne, if king Henrie chanced to die without issue: & that he had talke and conference of that matter on a time with George Nevill, Lord Aburgavennie, unto whome he had given his daughter in marriage; and also that he threatened to punish the cardinall for his manifest misdoings, being without cause his mortal enemie."

140-142. *Not . . . friends*] I have followed the Cambridge Edd. in printing Capell's pointing, though I doubt its correctness. The folios have a semicolon at "person," for which I would substitute a comma, with the sense—disappointed of his hope that the king would die without issue, he desired in his rage to destroy the king's friends. Neither the rhythm of the sentence nor the context is in favour of Capell's arrangement. Wolsey is drawing the king's attention to a point in Knevet's evidence, and, so

His will is most malignant, and it stretches
Beyond you to your friends.

Q. Kath. My learn'd lord cardinal,
Deliver all with charity.

King. Speak on :
How grounded he his title to the crown
Upon our fail? to this point hast thou heard him 145
At any time speak aught?

Surv. He was brought to this
By a vain prophecy of Nicholas Henton.

King. What was that Henton?

Surv. Sir, a Chartreux friar,
His confessor, who fed him every minute
With words of sovereignty.

King. How know'st thou this? 150

Surv. Not long before your highness sped to France,

147, 148. *Henton*] Ff; *Hopkins* Pope, ed. 2 (Theobald).

far, there was nothing in Knevet's evidence to suggest that the duke had threatened or even disliked the king. But the natural meaning of the text is that since the duke's wish was not fulfilled he had now designs on the king's life; i.e. Wolsey treats as part of Knevet's previous speech a charge that is not made till much later, viz. in ll. 194-199. "Friended" means helped. Cf. *Cymbeline*, II. iii. 52: "be friended With aptness of the season" = let a fitting opportunity help you.

143. *Deliver . . . charity*] Do not speak uncharitably. Cf. *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, III. ii. 35:—

"Ay, but she'll think that it is spoke in hate—

Ay, if his enemy deliver it";

Henry V. III. vi. 176:—

"So tell your master—
I shall deliver so."

149. *fail*] failure, as in *Winter's Tale*, II. iii. 170:—

"the fail
Of any point in't shall not only be
Death to thyself but to thy lewd-tongued wife."

Whether the fail in question is childlessness or death may be questioned. In l. 184, *infra*, "had the king in his last sickness failed," means if he had died; but in II. iv. 198, "my issues fail," is the failure of male descendants. Cf. *Winter's Tale*, v. i. 27:—

"What dangers by his highness' fail of issue

May drop upon his kingdom."

147. *Henton*] Capell followed Theobald in reading *Hopkins*, though as the mistake "must have come from the poet not his printer," it should, as he admits, "in strictness, not be chang'd but observ'd upon." The words "called Henton" in the following passage (to which Capell referred) account for the error; see Holinshed, III. 658: "Then Knevet . . . openly confessed that the duke had once fullie determined to devise means how to put the king away, being brought into a full hope that he should be king, by a vain prophesie which one Nicholas Hopkins, a monke of an house of the Chartreux order beside Bristow called Henton sometime his confessor, had opened unto him."

148. *friar*] a mistake for "monk." See extract in note on previous line.

151-171. *Not . . . England*] See Holinshed, III. 660, 661: "Beside all this, the same duke the tenth of Maie, in the twelwe yeare of the kings reigne, at London in a place called the Rose [the Red Rose was a manor of Buckingham's], within the parish of saint Laurence Poultrie in Canwike street ward, demanded of the said Charles Knevet esquier, what was the talke amongst the Londoners concerning the

The duke being at the Rose, within the parish
 Saint Lawrence Poultney, did of me demand
 What was the speech among the Londoners
 Concerning the French journey: I replied, 155
 Men fear'd the French would prove perfidious,
 To the king's danger. Presently the duke
 Said, 'twas the fear indeed, and that he doubted
 'Twould prove the verity of certain words
 Spoke by a holy monk; "that oft," says he, 160
 "Hath sent to me, wishing me to permit
 John de la Car, my chaplain, a choice hour
 To hear from him a matter of some moment:
 Whom after under the confession's seal
 He solemnly had sworn, that what he spoke 165
 My chaplain to no creature living but
 To me should utter, with demure confidence
 This pausingly ensued: Neither the king nor's heirs,
 Tell you the duke, shall prosper: bid him strive
 To gain the love o' the commonalty: the duke 170
 Shall govern England."

156. *fear'd*] Pope; *fear* or *fear* Ff. 162. *Car*] Court Warburton. 164.
confession's] Theobald (from Holinshed); *commissions* Ff. 167. *demure con-*
fidence] *confidence demure* Hammer. 168. *This*] Thus F 4. 170. *To gain*]
 F 4; To Ff 1-3.

kings journie beyond the seas? And the said Charles told him, that manie stood in doubt of that journeie, least the Frenchmen meant some deceit to the king. Whereto the duke answered that it was to be feared, least it would come to passe, according to the words of a certeine holie moonke. For there is (saith he) a Chartreux moonke, that diverse times hath sent to me, willing me to send unto him my chancellor: and I did send unto him John de la Court my chapleine, unto whom he would not declare anie thing, till de la Court had sworne unto him to keepe all things secret, and to tell no creature living what hee should heare of him, except it were to me. And then the said moonke told de la Court, that neither the king nor his heires should prosper, and that I should endeavour my selfe to purchase the good wills of the commonaltie of England; for I the same duke and my bloud should prosper, and have the rule of the realme of England."

156. *fear'd*] The reading of F 1 *feare*, may be right. Cf. l. 134, *supra*, where Pope changed *he 'll to he 'd*.

157. *Presently*] instantly. Cf. *Tempest*, iv. 1. 42: "Presently—Ay with a twink"; *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, II. i. 30: "When you fasted, it was presently after dinner"; *ibid.* v. ii. 48:—

"Stand not to discourse
 But mount you presently and meet
 with me."

162. *a choice hour*] a fitting time.

164. *confession's*] Theobald's correction of *commissions*, F 1. See Holinshed, iii. 659. "The duke in talke told the monke, that he had doone verie well, to bid his chapleine John de la Court, under the seale of confession to keepe secret such matter."

167. *demure*] serious, solemn. See *New Eng. Dict. sub voc.* For the accent on the first syllable, see *Twelfth Night*, II. v. 59: "After a demure travel of regard."

170. *gain*] Grant White's conjecture *win* may be right, as *gain* appears first in F 4. See Holinshed, iii. 658: "willing him [the Duke] for the accomplishment of his purpose to seeke to win the favour of the people."

Q. Kath. If I know you well,
 You were the duke's surveyor and lost your office
 On the complaint o' the tenants: take good heed
 You charge not in your spleen a noble person
 And spoil your nobler soul: I say, take heed; 175
 Yes, heartily beseech you.

King. Let him on.
 Go forward.

Surv. On my soul, I'll speak but truth.
 I told my lord the duke, by the devil's illusions
 The monk might be deceiv'd; and that 'twas dangerous
 for him
 To ruminate on this so far, until 180
 If forg'd him some design, which, being believ'd,
 It was much like to do: he answer'd "Tush,
 It can do me no damage;" adding further,
 That, had the king in his last sickness fail'd,
 The cardinal's and Sir Thomas Lovell's heads 185
 Should have gone off.

King. Ha! what, so rank? Ah, ha!
 There's mischief in this man: canst thou say further?

Surv. I can, my liege.

King. Proceed.

Surv. Being at Greenwich,
 After your highness had reprov'd the duke
 About Sir William Bulmer,—

175. *nobler*] F 1; *noble* Ff 2-4. 176, 177. *Let . . . forward*] So Pope; one line in Ff. 179, 180. *dangerous for him To . . . until*] Capell; *dangerous For this to . . . untill* Ff; *dang'rous For him to . . . until* Rowe; *dang'rous For him to ruminate on this, until* Pope. 179. *for him*] omitted Anon. conj. 190. *Bulmer*] Clar. Press ed. (from Holinshed); *Blumer* Ff.

172. *lost your office*] See Holinshed, iii. 645: "Now it chanced that the duke comming to London with his traine of men, to attend the king into France, went before into Kent unto a manor place which he had there. And whilst he staid in that countrie till the king^e set forward, greivous complaints were exhibited to him by his farmars and tenants against Charles Knevet his surveieur, for such bribing as he had used there amongst them. Whereupon the duke tooke such displeasure against him, that he deprived him of his office, not knowing that in so dooing he procured his owne destruction, as after appeared."

178-186. *I . . . off*] See Holinshed,

iii. 661: "Then said Charles Knevet; The moonke maie be deceived through the divels illusion: and that it was evill to meddle with such matters. Well (said the duke) it cannot hurt me, and so (saith the indictment) the duke seemed to rejoyse in the moonks words. And further, at the same time, the duke told the said Charles, that if the king had miscaried now in his last sicknesse, he would have chopped off the heads of the cardinall, of Sir Thomas Lovell knight and of others."

186. *rank*] Compare *Hamlet*, iii. 36: "Oh, my offence is rank," etc.

190. *Bulmer*] This correction from Holinshed of *Blumer* (Ff) is due to the

- King.* I remember 190
Of such a time : being my sworn servant,
The duke retain'd him his. But on ; what hence ?
- Surv.* " If " quoth he " I for this had been committed,
As to the Tower I thought, I would have play'd
The part my father meant to act upon 195
The usurper Richard ; who, being at Salisbury,
Made suit to come in's presence ; which if granted,
As he made semblance of his duty, would
Have put his knife into him."
- King.* " A giant traitor !
- Wol.* Now, madam, may his highness live in freedom, 200
And this man out of prison ?
- Q. Kath.* God mend all !
- King.* There's something more would out of thee ; what say'st ?
- Surv.* After " the duke his father," with the " knife,"
He stretch'd him, and with one hand on his dagger,
Another spread on 's breast, mounting his eyes 205
He did discharge a horrible oath, whose tenour

190, 191. *I . . . servant*] So Pope ; one line in Ff. 194. *As . . . thought*
To the Tower, as I thought Hanmer. 198. *would*] *he would* Hanmer ; *He'd*
 Wordsworth.

Clarendon Press editor. See Holinshed, iii. 640 : " the king speciallie rebuked Sir William Bulmer knight, because he being his servant sworne, refused the kings service, and became servant to the duke of Buckingham."

193-209. *If . . . purpose*] See Holinshed, iii. 660 : " And furthermore, the same duke on the fourth of November, in the eleventh yere of the kings reigne, at east Greenwich in the countie of Kent, said unto one Charles Knevet esquier, after that the king had reprooved the duke for reteining William Bulmer knight into his service, that if he had perceived that he should have been committed to the Tower (as he doubted he should have beene) hee would have so wrought, that the principall doers therein should not have had cause of great rejoising : for he would have played the part which his father intended to have put in practise against king Richard the third at Salisburie who made earnest sute to have come unto the presence of the same king Richard : which sute if he might have obtained, he having a

knife secretly about him, would have thrust it into the bodie of king Richard, as he had made semblance to kneele downe before him. And in speaking these words, he maliciouslie laid, his hand upon his dagger, and said, that if he were so evill used, he would doo his best to accomplish his pretensed purpose, swearing to confirme his word by the bloud of our Lord."

198. *semblance*] pretence. Holinshed's word.

200. *may*] can, the old sense. Cf. *Comedy of Errors*, i. i. 145 : " which princes, would they, may not disannul," *i.e.* cannot even if they wish.

202. *There's . . . say'st*] So in Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Prophetess*, i. i., Aurelia encourages Niger in his accusation against Aper : " Forward, I see a truth would break out ; be not fearful."

205. *mounting*] lifting up. Stanyhurst translates Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 687, " oculos ad sidera . . . Extulit," by " mounting his sight to the skyward." For a similar use, see i. i. 144, *supra*, and *The Tempest*, ii. ii. 11.

Was, were he evil us'd, he would outgo
His father by as much as a performance
Does an irresolute purpose.

King. There's his period,
To sheathe his knife in us. He is attach'd; 210
Call him to present trial; if he may
Find mercy in the law, 'tis his; if none,
Let him not seek 't of us; by day and night!
He's traitor to the height. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE III.—*An ante-chamber in the palace.*

Enter the LORD CHAMBERLAIN and LORD SANDS.

Cham. Is't possible the spells of France should juggle
Men into such strange mysteries?

Scene III.] Scene vi. Pope.
Warburton.

2. *mysteries*] *mimick'ries* Hanmer; *mockeries*

207. *outgo*] surpass. Cf. *Timon of Athens*, i. 1. 285: "he outgoes The very heart of kindness."

209. *period*] end in view, aim. Compare *Merry Wives of Windsor*, iv. ii. 237: "methinks there would be no period to the jest [*i.e.* it would have no object] if he be not publicly shamed"; *King Lear*, iv. vii. 97:—

My point and period will be
thoroughly wrought,

Or well or ill, as this day's battle's
fought."

210. *attach'd*] arrested. In the next line "present" means instant, immediate. The words occur together in *Comedy of Errors*, iv. i. 5:—

"Make present satisfaction,
Or I'll attach you by this officer."

223, 214. *Let . . . height*] Collier calls this "a very lame rhyming couplet," which is less than justice, for it is not a couplet and does not rime except so far as "at" and "not" rime in i. i. 142, 143, *supra*. The vowel sounds were different in Shakespeare's time.

214. *to the height*] in the highest degree. This absolute use appears in Shakespeare only here and in *Troilus and Cressida*, v. i. 3: "Let us feast him to the height." It is common in Fletcher and Massinger; see *Introduction* for examples.

Act I. Scene III.] By Fletcher (*Spedding* and *Boyle*).

Enter . . . Sands] This scene coming between Buckingham's arrest and his trial must be dated 1521. Charles Somerset, Earl of Worcester, was then Lord Chamberlain, but Sir William Sands (also written Sandys) was not created Baron Sands till 1523. And there is another anachronism. The banquet of scene iv. referred to at the close of the present scene, could not have been given much earlier than 1527; for in his *Life of Wolsey* (ed. Singer, p. 114) Cavendish mentions that the arrangements were made by "the Lord Sands, Lord Chamberlain to the King." Now Sands did not become Lord Chamberlain till after Worcester's death in 1526.

2. *mysteries*] Perhaps nondescript creatures, "What-is-its?" Johnson says: "Mysteries were allegorical shows, which the mummers of those times exhibited in odd fantastic habits. Mysteries are used by an easy figure for those that exhibited mysteries; and the sense is only, that the travelled Englishmen were metamorphosed, by foreign fashions, into such an uncouth appearance, that they looked like mummers in a mystery." The Clarendon explanation is similar: "such fan-

Sands.

New customs,

Though they be never so ridiculous,
Nay, let 'em be unmanly, yet are follow'd.

Cham. As far as I see, all the good our English

5

Have got by the late voyage is but merely
A fit or two o' the face; but they are shrewd ones;
For when they hold 'em, you would swear directly
Their very noses had been counsellors

To Pepin or Clotharius, they keep state so.

10

Sands. They have all new legs, and lame ones: one would
take it,

11. *They . . . it*] So Pope; two lines in Ff.

tastic fashions, like the dresses of actors in a mystery play." This might be supported by the expression, "to make a show of oneself," and by the fact that Bret Harte's Colonel Starbottle was once mistaken for "a circus." But "mystery" in the sense of "mystery play" was not borrowed from the French so early as the fashions in question or Fletcher's indictment of them. It probably did not arrive till the beginning of the eighteenth century. Henley explained "those fantastick manners and fashions of the French, which had operated as spells or enchantments," and Douce: "Mysteries are arts, and here artificial fashions." But Capell is probably right in explaining "juggle" as convert by juggling and in comparing with "mysteries" the use of "vanities meaning vain ones." Of the two words mystery, Gk. = a secret, Lat. = a craft or art, I think the former is here used, but not in its theologico-dramatic sense.

4. *let 'em be*] though they are. Cf. iv. ii. 146: "let him be a noble." Very common in Fletcher's works; so also is "'em" for "them," which Malone invariably substituted.

6. *the late voyage*] Really, by a previous voyage, when ambassadors were sent to restore Tournay to the French, which was done on the 8th of February, 1519, O.S., some months before the meeting in the valley of Andren. See Holinshed, iii. 635: "During this time remained in the French court diverse young gentlemen of England, and they with the French king rode dailie disguised through Paris, throwing egges, stones, and other foolish trifles at the people, which light demeanour

of a king was much discommended and jeasted at. And when these young gentlemen came againe into England, they were all French in eating, drinking, and apparel, yea, and in French vices and brags, so that all the estates of England were by them laughed at, the ladies and gentlewomen were dispraised, so that nothing by them was praised, but if it were after the French turne, which after turned them to displeasure, as you shall heare." The audience would, no doubt, apply the satire to the fashions of their own time.

7. *A . . . face*] A grimace, an artificial cast of the countenance (Johnson). The Clarendon ed. aptly compares *King Lear*, ii. ii. 87: "A plague upon your epileptic [*i.e.* distorted] visage." See also Beaumont and Fletcher, *Queen of Corinth*, i. iii.: "That leg a little higher; very well. Now put your face into the travellers' posture; Exceeding good"; Massinger, *Parliament of Love*, i. i.: "If you have travell'd Italy . . . and can set your faces in some strange and ne'er-seen posture," etc.

8. *directly*] Schmidt explains: "without ambiguity, without further ceremony." Cf. *Sonnet* cxliv. 10: "Suspect I may but not directly tell." It often means exactly or precisely.

10. *Pepin or Clotharius*] Ancient kings of France, Pepin of the 8th century, and the two Clothaires of the 6th and early 7th.

11. *legs*] Equivocal; "leg" is often a bow or courtesy, hence the meaning is "new forms of saluting and new legs to salute with." See Beaumont and Fletcher, *Custom of the Country*, iii. iii.: "When they come here they draw

That never saw 'em pace before, the spavin
Or springhalt reign'd among 'em.

Cham.

Death! my Lord,
Their clothes are after such a pagan cut too,
That, sure, they've worn out Christendom.

Enter SIR THOMAS LOVELL.

How now! 15

What news, Sir Thomas Lovell?

12. *never*] *ever* Capell conj. **saw* 'em] Pope; *see* 'em Ff; *saw them* Capell.
13. *Or*] Collier conj.; *And* Pope; A Ff. *springhalt*] *stringhalt* Hanmer (Theobald conj.). 14. *too*] F 4; *too*' F 3; *too*'t Ff 1, 2.

[= drag] their legs like Hackneys. Drink and their own devices have undone 'em."

12. *never*] Capell proposed *ever*, remarking that "surely, one who had seen them could best judge of the difference," which seems sensible; but if *never* is to be retained, I would suggest: *That never saw this pace before, this pavin*, or *That never saw 'em pace before this pavin*. The change required by the latter conjecture is slight, *i* for *e*; a final (or initial) letter often goes adrift and attaches itself to the nearest word. The pace in question is the "travelling pace" described in Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Queen of Corinth*, II. iv. :—

"Go [*i.e.* walk] as I taught you,
• hang more upon your hams,
And put your knees out bent:
there, yet a little:
Now I beseech you be not so improvident
To forget your travelling pace, 'tis
a main posture,
And to all unay'rd Gentlemen will
betray you."

The printer had already shied at *pavin* in *Twelfth Night*, v. i. 201, where F 1 has "a passy measures panyin." It was quite usual to apply the names of dances to other movements and acts. See Beaumont and Fletcher, *Elder Brother*, v. i. : "I'd dance a matachin with you, should make you sweat your best blood for it"; *Humourous Lieutenant*, IV. iv. : "when you have danc'd your galliard" = *eam stupraveris*; *Mad Lover*, II. i. : "My whistle wet once, I'll pipe him such a Paven"; *Monsieur Thomas*, III. i. : "I'll pipe ye such a hunsup [Hunt's up], Shall

make ye dance a tipvae"; *The Pilgrim*, IV. III. :—

"Here be such youths

Will make you start if they but
dance their trenchmores"

= act with their usual violence; *Island Princess*, v. 1. : "All the windows i' th Town dance a new Trenchmore." See note l. 13.

12. *saw*] Pope's correction of *see* (Ff). I have no doubt that Fletcher wrote *see* : it is not at all an uncommon form of the past tense before and after his time. See *Bonduca*, v. II. :—

"he swing'd us
And swing'd us soundly too, he
fights by witchcraft;
But for all that I see [*i.e.* saw] him
lodg'd."

It is still used provincially.

13. *Or*] The folios read *A* as if "spavin" and "springhalt" [= stringhalt] were convertible terms. *Or* seems open to much the same objection. There could be no question whether a horse was suffering from a spavin or a stringhalt; a glance would tell, and a man who walked like a spavined horse could be distinguished as far as he could be seen from one who had a back kick in his action suggesting a stringhalt. Pope read *And*. So does Verplanck, who does not appear to have heard of the reading *Or*, though this is attributed to him by the Cambridge Edd. With *And* the meaning may be—"they walk lamely like diseased horses," spavin and springhalt being instances of the particular for the general, loosely used. Verplanck says: "Now, it would seem that Shakespeare meant that his satirical old lord should sneer at the several affectations of walk and manner

Lov. Faith, my Lord,
I hear of none but the new proclamation
That's clapp'd upon the court-gate.

Cham. What is't for?

Lov. The reformation of our travell'd gallants,
That fill the court with quarrels, talk, and tailors. 20

Cham. I'm glad 'tis there: now I would pray our monsieurs
To think an English courtier may be wise,
And never see the Louvre.

Lov. They must either,
For so run the conditions, leave those remnants
Of fool and feather that they got in France, 25
With all their honourable points of ignorance

21. *I'm . . . monsieurs*] So Pope; two lines in Ff.

among the mimics of foreign fashion, by likening them to different forms of horse disease,—some having the lameness and stiff gait of spavined horses; others, the jerking and twitching nervousness of those affected with the springhalt. I do not, therefore, doubt that in the first impression, or the manuscript copy from which it was printed, A springhalt was an error of the printer or copyist for 'And'—with the same capital beginning the line." Whatever be the true reading, it would seem that the writer knew little of horses. Certainly the description of "the travelling pace" in the previous note suggests a spavin rather than a stringhalt, but *springhalt* has not been suspected.

15. *worn out Christendom*] They would not dress in such an outlandish manner if they were not destitute of all clothes such as might be worn by "a Christian or an ordinary man," as Sir Andrew would say.

17. *the new proclamation*] Seemingly, a reference to the banishment from court of the king's favourites in 1520. See extract from Holinshed on l. 6 above, and iii. p. 640: "Then the kings counsell caused the lord chamberleine to call before them diverse of the privie chamber, which had bene in the French court, and banished them the court for diverse considerations, laieng nothing particularlie to their charges & they that had offices were commanded to go to their offices. Which discharge out of court greeved sore the

hearts of these yooong men." They were replaced by "four sad and ancient knights."

18. *the court-gate*] The Clarendon ed. notes: "In Ralph Agas's Map of London, about 1560, one of the gates of Whitehall is called the court-gate. It is probably that which was designed by Holbein, and stood facing Charing Cross a little south of the banqueting house."

25. *fool and feather*] The collocation is probably suggested by the fact that these foolish persons wore feathers in their hats, as formerly professional fools had sometimes done. See Douce, *Illustrations*, plate iv. fig. 1. It was probably a hit at one of the fashionable follies of Fletcher's day, and therefore we need not with Fairholt, ap. Halliwell, refer to the circumstance that "The bas-reliefs of the Hotel Bourgtheroulde have furnished us with this figure selected from those on the English side [at the Field of the Cloth of Gold]. A close skull-cap of velvet is worn upon the head, and the bonnet or hat slung at the back of it, with an enormous radiation of feathers set around it, which an old French writer compares to the glories of a peacock's tail." A head-dress worn by an Englishman and exciting comment from a Frenchman is hardly a case in point. Steevens thinks the allusion is to the fans of feathers carried by some young men in Greene's time, citing his *Farewell to Follie*: "We strive to be counted womanish, by keeping of beautie, by curling the hair,

Pertaining thereunto, as fights and fireworks,
 Abusing better men than they can be
 Out of a foreign wisdom, renouncing clean
 The faith they have in tennis and tall stockings, 30
 Short blister'd breeches and those types of travel,
 And understand again like honest men,
 Or pack to their old playfellows: there, I take it,
 They may, 'cum privilegio,' wear away
 The lag end of their lewdness, and be laugh'd at. 35
Sands. 'Tis time to give 'em physic, their diseases
 Are grown so catching.

31. *blister'd*] *bolstred* F 4. 34. *wear*] Ff 2-4; *wee* F 1 and Hudson; *oui* Anon. ⚡.

by wearing plumes of feathers in our hands"; and *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*: "Then our young courtiers strove to exceed one another in vertue, not in bravery; they rode not with fannes to ward their faces from the wind," etc. A practice of 1591. The date, as the Clarendon ed. notes, of Greene's *Farewell* is too late to illustrate the fashions of Henry's reign and probably too early to illustrate those of the later years of James I. The Clarendon ed. cites *Love's Labour's Lost*, iv. i. 96, where a "plume of feathers" is a synonym for a coxcomb.

26. *honourable . . . ignorance*] "Honourable points" seem to mean, like "points of honour," rules of etiquette relating to duels, etc. They are called points of ignorance rather than of knowledge because they are of no real value.

29. *foreign wisdom*] ironical; the follies they learnt abroad.

30. *tall*] long.

31. *blister'd*] Craig explains "puffed," citing Nash, *Pierce Penniless* (1592) (Grosart, ii. 39): "his apparel is so puffed up with bladders of taffatie, and his back like beefe stufte with parsly; so drawne out with ribands and devices, and blister'd with light sarcenet bastings, that you would thinke him nothing but a swarme of butterflies if you saw him a farre off." Fairholt supplied Halliwell with an engraving of a courtier of the era of Francis I. "The tall stockings drawn high above the knee, where they are cut into points; the breeches very short and gathered into close rolls or blisters [at top of thigh] shew how accurate is the jesting satire of Sir Thomas Lovell." I think it unlikely that Fletcher should write as an anti-

quary rather than as a satirist of his own day.

31. *types*] Schmidt explains "type" as distinguishing mark, sign, badge, citing 3 *Henry VI.* i. iv. 121: "Thy father bears the type of King of Naples," i.e. the crown; and *Richard III.* iv. iv. 244: "The high imperial type of this earth's glory."

32. *And . . . men*] Resume the thoughts, feelings, and morals of their own countrymen. The word "understand" may be illustrated by the following in Beaumont and Fletcher, *Wild-Goose Chase*, iv. i. [The scene is laid in France]: "These travellers Shall find before we have done, a home-spun wit, A plain French understanding may cope with them"; and *Elder Brother*, v. i.: "Twas when young Eustase . . . fought his Battels in Compliments and Cringes, When's *understanding* wav'd in a flaunting Feather And his best contemplation look'd no further Than a new fashion'd doublet." The Clarendon ed. says: "A quibble is here intended as in *Twelfth Night*, iii. i. 89: "My legs do better understand me, sir, than I understand what you mean by bidding me taste my legs."

34. *wear*] *wee* F 1 might possibly stand for *oui* (cf. to *parlez-vous*) = talk French, for the rest of their days.

35. *lag end*] latter end. Cf. 1 *Henry IV.* v. i. 24:—

"I could be well content

To entertain the lag end of my life
 With quiet hours."

"Lag" is late, in *Richard III.* ii. i. 90: "Come too lag to see him buried."

35. *lewdness*] We might expect *lives* or *life*, but Lovell speaks as if their life was a continuous course of ignorance or vice. Vice may be the meaning here.

Cham. What a loss our ladies
Will have of these trim vanities!

Lov. Ay, marry,
There will be woe indeed, lords: the sly whoresons
Have got a speeding trick to lay down ladies; 40
A French song and a fiddle has no fellow.

Sands. The devil fiddle 'em! I am glad they are going,
For, sure, there's no converting of 'em: now
An honest country lord, as I am, beaten
A long time out of play, may bring his plain-song, 45
And have an hour of hearing; and, by 'r lady,
Held current music too.

Cham. Well said, Lord Sands;
Your colt's tooth is not cast yet.

Sands. No, my lord;
Nor shall not, while I have a stump.

42. *The . . . going*] So Pope; two lines in Ff. 47. *Held*] *Hold* Boswell.

38. *trim vanities*] fashionably dressed fools. For "vanity" used of a person, see Beaumont and Fletcher, *Woman's Prize*, iv. iv. :—

"My vanity, farewell: yet as you have been

So near to me, as to bear the name of wife," etc.;

Wild-Goose Chase, ii. iii.: "Still troubled with these vanities? Heaven bless us; What are we born to? Would ye [the vanities] speak with any of my people?"; *Island Princess*, iii. i.: "glorious vanities That travel to be famous through diseases."

40. *speeding trick*] successful device. A very similar passage is found in Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Wild-Goose Chase*, iii. i.: "You have a trick" . . . "I have a speedy [?] speeding] trick". Cf. *Spanish Curate*, iv. i. :—

"I will take

A course to right myself, a speeding one";

Thierry and Theodoret, ii. i.: "a speeding project" = a plan likely to succeed; *Love's Cure*, iv. ii.: "this speeding trick [to command a lover when heated with wine] my good old mother taught me."

41. *fellow*] equal. See *Introduction* for examples of "has no fellow."

45. *plain-song*] Craig (Little 4to) explains "plain talk." This would necessitate our regarding "A French

song and a fiddle" as figurative too. Nares has: "Plain-song. The simple notes of an air, without ornament or variation." It was opposed to descant, "what is now called variation in music."

47. *Held . . . too*] Have it thought good music, not out of date as contrasted with the French.

48. *Your . . . yet*] So in Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Prophetess*, v. iii., when Alexis says, "You know where I won it," he is answered, "Thou wilt ne'er be old, Alexis." Cf. *Thierry and Theodoret*, ii. i. :—

"tis in reason

To think this good old lady has a stump yet

That may require a corral";

Elder Brother, ii. ii.: "If he should love her now, As he hath a colt's tooth yet, what says your learning?" etc. Craig notes that the expression is found twice in Chaucer, *Reeve's Prologue* :—

"And yet ik have alwey a coltes tooth,

As many a yeer as it is passed henne

Syn that my tap of lyt bigan to renne";

and *Wife of Bath's Prologue* :—

"And I was fourty, if I shal seye sooth;

But yet I hadde alwey a coltes tooth."

- Cham.* Sir Thomas,
Whither were you a-going ?
- Lov.* To the cardinal's : 50
Your lordship is a guest too.
- Cham.* O, 'tis true :
This night he makes a supper, and a great one,
To many lords and ladies ; there will be
The beauty of this kingdom, I'll assure you.
- Lov.* That churchman bears a bounteous mind indeed, 55
A hand as fruitful as the land that feeds us ;
His dewes fall every where.
- Cham.* No doubt he's noble ;
He had a black mouth that said other of him.
- Sands.* He may, my lord ; has wherewithal : in him
Sparing would show a worse sin than ill doctrine : 60
Men of his way should be most liberal ;
They are set here for examples.
- Cham.* True, they are so ;
But few now give so great ones. My barge stays ;
Your lordship shall along. Come, good Sir Thomas,
We shall be late else ; which I would not be, 65
For I was spoke to, with Sir Henry Guildford
This night to be comptrollers.
- Sands.* I am your lordship's. [*Exeunt.*]

55. *That . . . indeed*] So Pope ; two lines in Ff. 59. *He . . . him*] So Rowe ; two lines in Ff. *has*] *ha's* Ff ; *h'as* Rowe (ed. 2) ; *he has* Capell.
59. *Wherewithal : in him*] *wherewithal : in him*, Theobald (Thirlby conj.) ; *where-withall in him* ; Ff. 63. *But . . . stays*] So Rowe (ed. 2) ; two lines in Ff.

52. *a . . . one*] For this Fletcherian use, see *Introduction*.

55. *churchman*] clergyman. Cf. sc. iv. l. 88.

58. *He . . . him*] Only a detractor would say anything else ; "other" is, as often, plural. Before the middle of the seventeenth century a black mouth had come to mean a slanderer.

59. *has wherewithal*] he has the necessary means. Ff reads *h'as*, a contraction of "he has," very common in Fletcher, e.g. *Custom of the Country*, II. i. : "He was still in quarrels . . . now *h'as* paid for it" ; but as the Clarendon ed. notes the subject is often omitted. For "wherewithal," see Beaumont and Fletcher, *Wit Without Money*, I. i. : "your sister has ingrosted all the brave Lovers"—"She has wherewithal."

61. *Men of his way*] the clergy. "Way" means condition of life in Beaumont and Fletcher, *Loyal Subject*, II. ii. :—

"I do not like that ring from him to her ;

I mean to women of her way such tokens

Rather appear as baits than royal bounties."

63. *My barge*] The speaker is now in the King's palace at Bridewell, from which he is proceeding by water to York Place (Cardinal Wolsey's house), now Whitehall (Malone).

65. *else*] See *Introduction* for examples of Fletcher's use of this word.

67. *comptrollers*] stewards or masters of ceremonies. Guildford was, as the Clarendon ed. mentions, called by Cavendish in his description of the

SCENE IV.—*A hall in York Place.*

Hautboys. A small table under a state for the CARDINAL, a longer table for the guests. Then enter ANNE BULLEN and divers other Ladies and Gentlemen as guests, at one door; at another door, enter SIR HENRY GUILDFORD.

Guild. Ladies, a general welcome from his grace
 Salutes ye all; this night he dedicates
 To fair content and you: none here, he hopes,
 In all this noble bevy, has brought with her
 One care abroad; he would have all as merry 5
 As, first, good company, good wine, good welcome
 Can make good people.

Enter LORD CHAMBERLAIN, LORD SANDS, and
 SIR THOMAS LOVELL.

O, my lord, you're tardy:
 The very thought of this fair company
 Clapp'd wings to me.

Cham. You are young, Sir Harry Guildford.
Sands. Sir Thomas Lovell, had the cardinal 10
 But half my lay thoughts in him, some of these
 Should find a running banquet ere they rested,
 I think would better please 'em: by my life,
 They are a sweet society of fair ones.

Scene iv.] Scene vii. Pope. A hall in York Place] Capell. 1. *Ladies*
 . . . *grace*] So Pope; two lines in Ff. 6. *first, good*] Ff 1-3; *first good* F 4;
first-good Theobald; *feast, good* Staunton conj.; *far as good* Dyce (ed. 2, Halli-
 well conj.). *good wine*] then *good wine* Hanmer. 11. *lay thoughts*]
 hyphenated in Ff.

banquet "Comptroller to the King," but it would not be his duty as such to marshal Wolsey's guests. The appointment shared with Guildford was for one night only, "This night."

Act I. Scene iv.] By Fletcher (Spedding); ll. 1-19 by Massinger, 19-60 by Fletcher, 60 to end by Massinger (Boyle).

4. *bevy*] company, especially of ladies, roes, quails, larks; origin unknown.

6. *As . . . wine*] Hanmer read *As, first, good company, then good wine*, which at least gives the probable meaning of the text. Theobald has *first-good*, but this elegant compound, as Capell called it, is unparalleled, and seems to imply a distinction between the com-

pany and the entertainment. For *As first* Staunton proposed *As feast*, and Halliwell *As far as*, which is somewhat better.

11. *lay*] unclerical. Cf. ll. 88, '89.

12. *running banquet*] a hasty refreshment (Steevens). Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher, *Bonduca*, II. iv.: "Besides the drink, captain, the bravest running banquet of black puddings, Pieces of glorious beef." It is used figuratively again in v. iv. 70, *infra*.

14. *fair ones*] A favourite expression of Fletcher's, e.g. *Wild-Goose Chase*, I. iii.: "Beshrew my blood, they are fair ones." Compare also l. 95: "By heaven, she's a dainty one."

Lov. O, that your lordship were but now confessor 15
To one or two of these!

Sands. I would I were;
They should find easy penance.

Lov. Faith, how easy?

Sands. As easy as a down-bed would afford it.

Cham. Sweet ladies, will it please you sit? Sir Harry,
Place you that side; I'll take the charge of this: 20
His grace is entering. Nay, you must not freeze;
Two women plac'd together makes cold weather:
My Lord Sands, you are one will keep 'em waking;
Pray, sit between these ladies.

Sands. By my faith,
And thank your lordship. By your leave, sweet 25
ladies:
If I chance to talk a little wild, forgive me;
I had it from my father.

Anne. Was he mad, sir?

Sands. O, very mad, exceeding mad, in love too:
But he would bite none; just as I do now,
He would kiss you twenty with a breath. [*Kisses her.*

Cham. Well said, my lord. 30
So, now you're fairly seated. Gentlemen,
The penance lies on you, if these fair ladies
Pass away frowning.

Sands. For my little cure,
• Let me alone.

22. *makes*] *make* Pope.
cure] *cue* Rowe.

31, 35, 52. *you're*] Capell; *y'are* Ff. 33.

20. *Place . . . this*] Find seats for the guests on the other side of the table, I shall arrange this side myself.

22. *Two . . . weather*] See Holinshed, iii. 764: "and then there was set a ladie with a noble man, or a gentleman and a gentlewoman throughout all the tables in the chamber on the one side, which were made and joined as it were but one table, all which order and devise was doone by the lord Sandes then lord chamberleine to the king, and by Sir Henrie Gifford comptroller of the kings majesties house."

26, 29. *talk a little wild—bite none*] Similar expressions occur in Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Captain*, i. iii. :—

"Nay, nothing,
Only have talkt a little wildly
of me;
As their unruly Youth directed
them;
Which though they bite me not,"
etc.

30. *well said*] well done! The Clarendon ed. compares *As You Like It*, II, vi. 14: "Well said! thou lookest cheerly," words used to Adam who had not spoken.

33, 34. *For . . . alone*] I am quite able to take care of my own parishioners; "cure" is cure of souls, an allusion to Lovell's wish, l. 15 *supra*. Ecclesiastical metaphors were common in those days, e.g. "absolved him with an axe," III. ii. 264.

Hautboys. Enter CARDINAL WOLSEY, and takes his state.

Wol. You're welcome, my fair guests : that noble lady 35
Or gentleman that is not freely merry,
Is not my friend : this, to confirm my welcome ;
And to you all, good health. [*Drinks.*

Sands. Your grace is noble :
Let me have such a bowl may hold my thanks,
And save me so much talking.

Wol. My Lord Sands, 40
I am beholding to you : cheer your neighbours.
Ladies, you are not merry : gentlemen,
Whose fault is this ?

Sands. The red wine first must rise,
In their fair cheeks, my lord ; then we shall have 'em
Talk us to silence.

Anne. You are a merry gamester, 45
My Lord Sands.

Sands. Yes, if I make my play.
Here's to your ladyship : and pledge it madam,
For 'tis to such a thing—

Anne. You cannot show me.

Sands. I told your grace they would talk anon.
[*Drum and trumpet : chambers discharged.*

Wol. What's that ?

Cham. Look out there, some of ye. [*Exit Servant.*

Wol. What warlike voice, 50
And to what end, is this ? Nay, ladies, fear not ;
By all the laws of war you're privileg'd.

Re-enter Servant.

Cham. How now ! what is 't ?

41. *beholding*] beholden Pope.
Capell ; can make Keightley.
Collier, ed. 2 and MS.

34. *state*] chair of state.

41. *beholding*] indebted, under obligations ; an early and common error for "beholden."

41. *cheer*] entertain. Cf. *Merchant of Venice*, III. ii. 240 : "Nerissa, cheer yon stranger : bid her welcome."

46. *if . . . play*] when I'm winning ; but Steevens explains : "if I make my party," and Ritson : "if I may choose my game."

48. *You . . . me*] Equivocal ; but "show" was used in the sense of describe or explain. See Beaumont and

46. *make*] may make Hamner ; may choose
49. *they*] that they Rowe (ed. 2) ; how they

Fletcher, *Humorous Lieutenant* III. iv. : "what's all this matter ?"—"Nay, I cannot shew you." Mr. Boyle compares *Women Pleased*, v. ii. : "I know I do not doubt ; but that he would profess this, And bear that full affection you make shew of, Should do— *Clan*. What should I do ? *Isab*. I cannot shew you."

49. *chambers*] short cannon used in salutes. Holinshed's account (from Stow who used Cavendish) of this masque will be found in the *Appendix*.

Serv. A noble troop of strangers ;
 For so they seem : they 've left their barge, and landed ;
 And hither make, as great ambassadors 55
 From foreign princes.

Wol. Good lord chamberlain,
 Go, give 'em welcome ; you can speak the French tongue ;
 And, pray, receive 'em nobly and conduct 'em
 Into our presence, where this heaven of beauty
 Shall shine at full upon them. Some attend him. 60
[Exit Chamberlain, attended. All rise, and tables removed.]

You have now a broken banquet ; but we 'll mend it.
 A good digestion to you all : and once more
 I shower a welcome on ye ; welcome all.

Hautboys. Enter the KING and others, as masquers,
 habited like shepherds, ushered by the LORD CHAM-
 BERLAIN. They pass directly before the CARDINAL, and
 gracefully salute him.

A noble company ! what are their pleasures ?

Cham. Because they speak no English, thus they pray'd 65
 To tell your grace, that, having heard by fame
 Of this so noble and so fair assembly
 This night to meet here, they could do no less,
 Out of the great respect they bear to beauty,
 But leave their flocks, and under your fair conduct 70
 Crave leave to view these ladies and entreat
 An hour of revels with 'em.

Wol. Say, lord chamberlain,
 They have done my poor house grace ; for which I
 pay 'em
 A thousand thanks and pray 'em take their pleasures.
[They choose. The King chooses Anne Bullen.]

King. The fairest hand I ever touch'd ! O beauty, 75
 Till now I never knew thee ! *[Music. Dance.]*

73, 74. They . . . pleasures] So Pope ; three lines in Ff.

61. broken banquet] the remains of a feast ; " broken " is used here as in the phrases " broken meats," " broken beer," etc.

61-108. You . . . knock it] Mr. Boyle writes : " As Massinger required to show, for the sake of understanding his subsequent scenes, how the report about the divorce (II. i. 147-9) arose, and how

Henry came to be so generous to Anne as we find him in II. iii., he (Massinger) struck in here at line 60 [? 64] to describe the first meeting between Anne and the King."

70. conduct] guidance. Compare the phrase " safe conduct," *Henry V.* I. ii. 297.

Wol. My lord!

Cham. Your grace?

Wol. Pray, tell 'em thus much from me:

There should be one amongst 'em, by his person,
More worthy this place than myself; to whom,
If I but knew him, with my love and duty 80
I would surrender it.

Cham. I will, my lord. [*Whispers the Masquers.*]

Wol. What say they?

Cham. Such a one, they all confess,
There is indeed; which they would have your grace
Find out, and he will take it.

Wol. Let me see then.
By all your good leaves, gentlemen; here I'll make 85
My royal choice.

King. [*Unmasking*] Ye have found him, cardinal:
You hold a fair assembly; you do well, lord:
You are a churchman, or, I'll tell you, cardinal,
I should judge now unhappily.

Wol. I am glad
Your grace is grown so pleasant.

King. My lord chamberlain, 90
Prithee, come hither: what fair lady's that?

Cham. An't please your grace, Sir Thomas Bullen's daughter,
The Viscount Rochford, one of her highness' women.

77. *My lord*] *Good my lord Hanmer.*
92, 93. *An't . . . women*] So Pope; three lines in Ff.

77. *from me*] *as from me Hanmer.*

84. *he will take it*] i.e. "this place," the chair of state. Cf. v. iii. 133, *infra*.

86. *Ye . . . him*] Wolsey did not find him. See Holinshed, iii. 764: "With that the cardinall taking good advisement among them, at the last (quoth he) me seemeth the gentleman with the blacke beard, should be even he! and with that he arose out of his chaire, and offered the same to the gentleman with the blacke beard with his cap in his hand. The person to whom he offered the chaire was sir Edward Nevill; a comelie knight, that much more resembled the kings person in that maske, than anie other. The king perceiving the cardinall so deceived, could not forbear laughing, but pulled downe his visar and master Nevils also, and dashed out such a pleasant countenance and cheere, that all the noble

estates there assembled, perceiving the king to be there among them, rejoiced verie much."

89. *judge now unhappily*] suspect you of lay thoughts. Cf. *Hamlet*, iv. v. 13:—

"Which [her words], as her winks and nods and gestures yield them, Indeed would make one think there might be thought, Though nothing sure, yet much unhappily."

(Cited in Clarendon ed.)

92. *Sir . . . daughter*] Cavendish who was at the banquet himself does not mention Anne's presence.

93. *Viscount Rochford*] Sir Thomas Bullen was created Viscount Rochford in 1525, the banquet actually took place in or after 1526, but is thrown back for stage purposes to 1521.

King. By heaven, she is a dainty one. Sweatheart,
I were unmannerly, to take you out, 95
And not to kiss you. A health, gentlemen!
Let it go round.

Wol. Sir Thomas Lovell, is the banquet ready
I' the privy chamber?

Lov. Yes, my lord.

Wol. Your grace,
I fear, with dancing is a little heated. 100

King. I fear, too much.

Wol. There's fresher air, my lord,
In the next chamber.

King. Lead in your ladies, every one. Sweet partner,
I must not yet forsake you. Let's be merry,
Good my lord cardinal: I have half a dozen healths 105
To drink to these fair ladies, and a measure
To lead 'em once again; and then let's dream
Who's best in favour. Let the music knock it.

[*Exeunt with trumpets.*]

94. *a dainty one*] See note on l. 14, *supra*.

96. *to kiss you*] A kiss, says Steevens, was anciently the established fee of a lady's partner. He quotes from an undated *Dialogue between Custom and Veritie, concerning the Use and Abuse of Dauncing and Minstrelsie* :—

"But some reply, what foole would daunce,

If that when daunce is doon,
He may not have at ladyes lips

That which in daunce he wooon?"

Ritson adds: "This custom is still prevalent among the country people, in many, perhaps all, parts of the kingdom. When the fiddler thinks his young couple have had musick enough, he makes his instrument squeak out two

notes which all understand to say—
kiss her!"

108. *Who's . . . favour*] *i.e.* who was the prettiest girl to-night.

108. *knock it*] sound; strictly "make a knocking." Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher, *Knight of Malta*, III. i.: "The Drums beat, Ensigns wave, and Cannons thump it," *i.e.* make a thumping noise. Steevens quotes Marston, *Antony and Mellida*, Pt. I. Act II.: "*Fla.* Faith, the song will seeme to come off hardly. *Catz.* Troth, not a whit, if you seeme to come off quickly. *Fla.* Pert Catzo, *knock it* lustily then." Halliwell adds that in Ravenscroft's *Briefe Discourse*, 1614, the following line occurs in the song of the Hunting of the Hare: "The hounds do knock it lustily."

ACT II

SCENE I.—*Westminster. A street.**Enter two Gentlemen, meeting.**First Gent.* Whither away so fast?*Sec. Gent.* O, God save ye!

Even to the hall, to hear what shall become

Of the great Duke of Buckingham.

First Gent. I'll save you

That labour, sir. All's now done, but the ceremony

Of bringing back the prisoner.

Sec. Gent. Were you there? 5*First Gent.* Yes, indeed was I.*Sec. Gent.* Pray, speak what has happen'd.*First Gent.* You may guess quickly what.*Sec. Gent.* Is he found guilty?*First Gent.* Yes, truly is he, and condemn'd upon't.*Sec. Gent.* I am sorry for't.*First Gent.* So are a number more.*Sec. Gent.* But, pray, how pass'd it? 10*First Gent.* I'll tell you in a little. The great duke
Came to the bar; where to his accusationsWestminster] Cam. Edd. A street] Theobald. meeting] Capell; at
seuerall Doores Ff. 8. Yes . . . upon't] So Pope; two lines in Ff.

Act II. Scene 1.] By Fletcher (Spedding); ll. 1-53 by Massinger, 53-136 by Fletcher, 136 to end, Massinger (Boyle).
2. hall] See Holinshed, iii. 661: "Shortlie after that the duke had been indicted . . . he was arreigned in Westminster Hall, before the duke of Norfolk," etc.

11. in a little] in a few words, briefly.

12-25. where . . . not] See Holinshed, iii. 661, 662: "Then was his indictment read, which the duke denied to be true, and (as he was an eloquent man) alledged reasons to falsifie the indictment; pleading the matter for his owne justification verie pithilie and

earnestlie. The kings attourneie [John Fitz-James, afterwards Chief Justice] against the dukes reasons alledged the examinations, confessions, and proofes of witnesses. The duke desired that the witnesses might bee brought forth. And then came before him Charles Knevet, Perke, de la Court, & Hopkins the monke of the Priorie of the Charterhouse beside Bath, which like a false hypocrite had induced the duke to the treason with his false forged prophesies. Diverse presumptions and accusations were laid unto him by Charles Knevet, which he would faine have covered."

He pleaded still not 'guilty, and alleged
 Many sharp reasons to defeat the law.
 The king's attorney on the contrary 15
 Urg'd on the examinations, proofs, confessions
 Of divers witnesses; which the duke desir'd
 To have brought viva voce to his face:
 At which appear'd against him his surveyor;
 Sir Gilbert Peck his chancellor; and John Car, 20
 Confessor to him; with that devil monk,
 Hopkins, that made this mischief.

Sec. Gent. That was he
 That fed him with his prophecies?

First Gent. The same.
 All these accus'd him strongly; which he fain
 Would have flung from him, but indeed he could not: 25
 And so his peers upon this evidence
 Have found him guilty of high treason. Much
 He spoke, and learnedly, for life, but all
 Was either pitied in him or forgotten.

Sec. Gent. After all this, how did he bear himself? 30

First Gent. When he was brought again to the bar, to hear
 His knell rung out, his judgment, he was stirr'd
 With such an agony, he sweat extremely,
 And something spoke in choler, ill and hasty:

18. *have*] F 4; *him* Ff 1-3. 20. *Car*] Court Warburton. 23. *prophecies* ?] Capell; *Prophecies*. Ff.

20. *Sir Gilbert Peck*] "Sir" is here sir priest, not sir knight. Cf. *Twelfth Night*, iv. ii. 25: "Sir Topas the curate." It was, as Nares says, "A title formerly applied to priests and curates in general; . . . *dominus*, the academical title of a bachelor of arts, was usually rendered by *sir* in English, at the Universities; so that a bachelor who in the books stood *Dominus Brown* was in conversation called Sir Brown. This was in use in some colleges even in my memory." "Peck" is a further corruption of Perke [Stow has "Parke"], a mistake for "clerk," i.e. clergyman. See note on i. i. 219, *supra*.

20. *John Car*] Hall calls him Delakar, and Holinshed (p. 658) de la Car *alias* de la Court.

24. *which*] sc. accusations, but which, as still in the Lord's Prayer, had come to be used as a relative where we now

use who or whom. "Who" was originally interrogative.

29. *Was . . . forgotten*] Either produced no effect, or produced only ineffectual pity (Malone).

31-36. *When . . . patience*] See Holinshed, iii. 662: "The duke was brought to the barre sore chafing, and sweet marvellouslie; & after he had made his reverence paused a while. . . . The duke of Buckingham said, My Lord of Norfolk, you have said as a traitor should be said unto, but I was never anie: but my lords I nothing maligne for that you have doone to me, but the eternall God forgive you my death, and I doo: I shall never sue to the king for life, howbeit he is a gracious prince, and more grace may come from him than I desire. I desire you my lords and all my fellowes to pray for me."

But he fell to himself again and sweetly 35
In all the rest show'd a most noble patience.

Sec. Gent. I do not think he fears death.

First Gent. Sure, he does not ;
He never was so womanish ; the cause
He may a little grieve at.

Sec. Gent. Certainly
The cardinal is the end of this.

First Gent. 'Tis likely, 40
By all conjectures : first, Kildare's attainder,
Then deputy of Ireland ; who remov'd
Earl Surrey was sent thither, and in haste too,
Lest he should help his father.

Sec. Gent. That trick of state
Was a deep envious one.

First Gent. At his return 45
No doubt he will requite it. This is noted,
And generally, whoever the king favours,

40. the end] at the end Long MS.

34. something . . . choler] i.e. spoke somewhat angrily ; so in the extract above "nothing malign" means resent in no respect, bear no malice.

40. end] the final cause, used like Aristotle's τέλος, the end, or object aimed at, being regarded as the motive cause. Here the thing is used for the person, cause for causer. For "end" meaning final cause, *New Eng. Dict.* cites Golding, *De Mornay*, xvi. 261 : "And as man is the end of the World, so is God the end of Man."

41-44. Kildare's . . . father] See Holinshed, iii. 644, 645 : "Now such greivous words as the duke thus uttered against him came to the cardinals ear ; whereupon he cast beforehand all waies possible to have him in a trip, that he might cause him to leap headlesse. But bicause he doubted his freends, kinnesmen, and alies, and cheeflie the earle of Surrie lord admerall, which had married the dukes daughter, he thought good first to send him some whither out of the waie, least he might cast a trumpe in his waie. . . . At length there was occasion offered him to compasse his purpose, by occasion of the earle of Kildare his comming out of Ireland. For the cardinall knowing that he was well provided of monie, sought occasion to fleece him of part thereof. The

earle of Kildare being unmarried was desirous to have an English woman to wife, and for that he was a suter to a widow contrarie to the cardinals mind, he accused him to the king, of that he had not borne himselfe uprightlie in his office in Ireland, where he was the kings lieutenant. Such accusations were framed against him when no bribes would come, that he was committed to prison, and then by the cardinals good preferment the earle of Surrie was sent into Ireland as the kings deputie, in lieu of the said earle of Kildare, there to remaine rather as an exile, than as lieutenant to the king, even at the cardinals pleasure, as he himselfe well perceived."

43. sent . . . and in haste] the emphatic addition of an adverb or its equivalent to a verb, or of an adjective to a noun, with "and" is a characteristic of Fletcher's style.

44. Lest . . . father] Surrey himself makes this charge against Wolsey in iii. ii. 260-262, *infra*. Father is used for father-in-law, as often, e.g. *1 Henry IV.* iii. i. 147, and Lodge, *Forbonius and Prisceria* (Shaks. Soc.), p. 112, l. 9. "Father-in-law" is found in iii. ii. 256.

46. noted] noticed.

47. And generally] See note on l. 43, *supra*. "Generally" is universally.

The cardinal instantly will find employment,
And far enough from court too.

Sec. Gent. All the commons
Hate him perniciously, and, o' my conscience, 50
Wish him ten fathom deep: this duke as much
They love and dote on; call him bounteous Buckingham,
The mirror of all courtesy—

First Gent. Stay there, sir,
And see the noble ruin'd man you speak of.

Enter BUCKINGHAM from his arraignment, tipstaves before him, the axe with the edge towards him, halberds on each side, accompanied with SIR THOMAS LOVELL, SIR NICHOLAS VAUX, SIR WILLIAM SANDS, and common people, etc.

Sec. Gent. Let's stand close, and behold him.

Buck. All good people, 55
You that thus far have come to pity me,
Hear what I say, and then go home and lose me.

48. *instantly . . . employment*] *instantly . . . employment for F 4; will find employment for Hanmer.* 55. Scene 11. Pope. Sir William] Theobald (from Holinshed); Sir Walter or Walter Ff.

47, 48. *whoever . . . employment*] For example, Doctor Pace, see next scene, ll. 125-130. Find employment = find employment for and may be compared to phrases where the dative of the pronoun is used, e.g. find him employment. Malone cites in illustration, *Merchant of Venice*, III. iv. 6: "How true a gentleman you send relief" [to]; and *Julius Caesar*, I. ii. 314:—

"Thy honourable metal may be wrought
From that it is dispos'd" [to].

50. *perniciously*] destructively, with a mortal or deadly hatred.

53. *The . . . courtesy*] See Holinshed, III. 671: "He is termed in the books of the law in the said thirteenth yere of Henrie the eight (where his arraignment is liberallie set downe) to be the floure & mirror of all courtesie." Verplanck gives the words of the year-book—"Dieu a sa ame grant mercy—car il fuit tres noble prince et prudent et mirror de tout courtesie."

54. *Enter Buckingham, etc.*] The passage from Holinshed given in note

on ll. 30-36 continues thus: "Then was the edge of the axe turned towards him, and he led into a barge. Sir Thomas Lovell desired him to sit on the cushions and carpet ordeined for him. He said nay; for when I went to Westminster I was duke of Buckingham, now I am but Edward Bohune the most cartife of the world. Thus they landed at the Temple, where received him sir Nicholas Vawse & sir William Sands baronets, and led him through the citie, who desired ever the people to pray for him, of whome some wept and lamented, and said: This is the end of evill life, God forgive him, he was a proud prince, it is pitie that hee behaved himself so against his king and liege lord, whome God preserve. Thus about foure of the clocke he was brought as a cast man to the Tower."

57. *lose*] forget. Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Prophetess*, III. i:—

"he has forgot me,
For all my care; forgot me and
his vow too:
As if a dream had vanish'd, so
h' as lost me";

I have this day receiv'd a traitor's judgment,
 And by that name must die : yet, heaven bear witness,
 And if I have a conscience, let it sink me, 60
 Even as the axe falls, if I be not faithful !
 The law I bear no malice for my death ;
 'T has done upon the premisses but justice :
 But those that sought it I could wish more Christians :
 Be what they will, I heartily forgive 'em : 65
 Yet let 'em look they glory not in mischief,
 Nor build their evils on the graves of great men ;
 For then my guiltless blood must cry against 'em.
 For further life in this world I ne'er hope,
 Nor will I sue, although the king have mercies
 More than I dare make faults. You few that lov'd me
 And dare be bold to weep for Buckingham,
 His noble friends and fellows, whom to leave

71. *More . . . me*] So Rowe ; two lines in Ff.

The Captain, i. iii. : " For as I hear them [sc. these relations, i.e. reports] so I lose them " ; *Monsieur Thomas*, i. iii. :—

" And as we look on shapes of painted Devils . . .

But with the next new object lose 'em, so,

If this be foul, we may forget it."

58. *a traitor's judgment*] viz. " You shall be led to the king's prison, and there laid on a hurdle, and so drawne to the place of execution, and there be hanged, cut downe alive, your members cut off and cast into the fire, your bowels burnt before you, your head smitten off, and your bodie quartered and divided at the king's will and God have mercie on your soule, Amen " (Holinshed, iii. 662). The chronilcer adds that the sentence was commuted " through the mercie of the King " ; " meekelie with an axe he tooke his death."

60. *sink*] Sink in the sense of ruin temporally or eternally is a favourite expression of Fletcher's. See l. 131, *post*, and *Introduction*.

61. *faithful*] a true subject, not a traitor. As Hall and Holinshed tell us, " he trusted to die the king's true man."

63. *upon the premisses*] almost equivalent to " under the circumstances."

64. *more*] strictly " greater," here " more sincere ",

65. *Be . . . will*] Whoever they may be. The expression often implies that the persons in question are known or are worthless. For its prevalence in Fletcher, see *Introduction*.

66. *look*] look to it, take care.

67. *evils*] Evils in this place, says Steevens, are *foricæ*, citing *Measure for Measure*, II. ii. 172 :—

" Having waste ground enough,
 Shall we desire to rage the sanctuary

And pitch our evils there ? "

New Eng. Dict. demurs and suggests "hovels" in both passages. The Clarendon ed. refers, in illustration, to 2 Kings x. 27.

67. *great men*] noblemen. Cf. " the great " in eighteenth-century writings, e.g. Gray, *Progress of Poesy*, last line : " Beneath the good how far, but far above the great."

70, 71. *Nor . . . faults*] From Holinshed ; see note on ll. 30-36.

73. *fellows*] comrades. Cf. " my lords and all my fellows," in Holinshed, above.

73, 74. *whom . . . dying*] It is only as " the separator of companions " that death is bitter. For the position of " only," cf. Beaumont and Fletcher, *Elder Brother*, v. i. : " The lofty noise your Greek made, only pleased me," i.e. was the only thing in which I found pleasure.

Is only bitter to him, only dying,
 Go with me, like good angels, to my end, 75
 And, as the long divorce of steel falls on me,
 Make of your prayers one sweet sacrifice
 And lift my soul to heaven. Lead on, o' God's name.
Lov. I do beseech your grace, for charity,
 If ever any malice in your heart 80
 Were hid against me, now to forgive me frankly.
Buck. Sir Thomas Lovell, I as free forgive you
 As I would be forgiven: I forgive all;
 There cannot be those numberless offences
 'Gainst me, that I cannot take peace with: no black
 envy 85
 Shall mark my grave. Commend me to his grace,
 And if he speak of Buckingham, pray tell him
 You met him half in heaven: my vows and prayers
 Yet are the king's, and, till my soul forsake,
 Shall cry for blessings on him: may he live 90
 Longer than I have time to tell his years!
 Ever belov'd and loving may his rule be!
 And when old time shall lead him to his end,
 Goodness and he fill up one monument!

78. *And . . . name*] So Pope; two lines in Ff. 85, 86. 'Gainst . . . grace]
 So Pope; three lines in Ff. 85. *that . . . take*] *I can't take* Pope; *that I can't*
take Malone; *I cannot take* Dyce (ed. 2); *I cannot* Lloyd conj. 86. *mark*]
 Hanmer (Warburton); *make* Ff. 89. *forsake*] *forsake me* F 4.

76. *the long divorce*] Steevens compares Lord Stirling's *Darius*, 1603:—
 "Scarce was the lasting last divorce-
 ment made

Between the bodie and the Soule."
 85. *envy*] malignity. Cf. Lodge, *For-
 bonius and Prisceria* (Shak. Soc.), p. 84:
 "eyther lead [*i.e.* led] by covetous-
 nesse, for that he would not strene his
 coffers, or by envie, for that he con-
 temned Forbonius."

85. *take peace with*] A phrase not else-
 where found in Shakespeare (Clarendon
 ed.); but "take truce with" occurs in
Romeo and Juliet, III. i. 162.

86. *mark*] Warburton's correction, in
 favour of which Malone, though read-
 ing *make* with the folios, cites Theo-
 bald's correction of a similar misprint
 in *Henry V.* II. ii. 139. *Mark* may be,
 as the Clarendon ed. notes, warranted
 by the epithet "black" applied to
 "envy," though "black envy" was a
 common expression. The meaning

seems to be "No action expressive of
 malice shall conclude my life," which
 is Steevens's paraphrase of the clause
 with the reading *make*. Steevens, how-
 ever, suggests that "make" may mean
 "close," comparing *Comedy of Errors*,
 III. i. 93, "the doors are made against
 you," but "make" and "make against"
 are not identical. His second explana-
 tion varies only in form from his first:
 "no malicious envy shall close my
 grave, *i.e.* attend the conclusion of my
 existence, or terminate my life; the
 last action of it shall not be uncharit-
 able."

88. *prayers*] a dissyllable as in I.
 77.

89. *soul forsake*] Not used absolutely
 elsewhere in Shakespeare. F 4 has *for-
 sake me*. I doubtfully suggest *soul's*
forsake=soul's departure. Cf. "brow's
 repine," for repining, *Venus and Adonis*,
 l. 490.

91. *tell*] count.

Lov. To the water side I must conduct your grace ; 95
Then give my charge up to Sir Nicholas Vaux,
Who undertakes you to your end.

Vaux. Prepare there ;
The duke is coming : see the barge be ready,
And fit it with such furniture as suits
The greatness of his person.

Buck. Nay, Sir Nicholas, 100
Let it alone ; my state now will but mock me.
When I came hither, I was lord high constable
And Duke of Buckingham ; now, poor Edward Bohun :
Yet I am richer than my base accusers,
That never knew what truth meant : I now seal it ; 105
And with that blood will make 'em one day groan for 't.
My noble father, Henry of Buckingham,
Who first rais'd head against usurping Richard,
Flying for succour to his servant Banister,
Being distress'd, was by that wretch betray'd, 110
And without trial fell ; God's peace be with him !
Henry the Seventh succeeding, truly pitying
My father's loss, like a most royal prince,
Restor'd me to my honours, and out of ruins

103. *Bohun*] *Stafford* Peck conj.

103. *Bohun*] See the account in Holinshed in note on l. 54. His real name was Stafford, but he was descended from Eleanor Bohune and held the office of High Constable which had been hereditary in her family. Eleanor was heiress of "Humfrie de Bohune, the eight & last erle of Hereford of that surname of Bohune," and was married to Thomas of Woodstock, sixth son of Edward III. Their eldest daughter was married to Edmund Stafford, Earl Stafford whose son Humphrey was succeeded by Humphrey, created Duke of Buckingham in 1444, and grandfather of Wolsey's enemy.

105, 106. *I . . . for't*] Johnson paraphrases : "I now seal my truth, my loyalty, with blood, which blood shall one day make them groan" ; but there is a little more in it, "that blood" = the kind of blood which etc., i.e. innocent blood.

108. *rais'd head*] gathered troops ; "head" is probably used as in the

phrase "to make a head." Cf. *1 Henry IV.* v. i. 66 :—

"We were enforced, for safety sake,
to fly

Out of your sight and raise this
present head."

109. *Banister*] See Holinshed, iii. 671 : "Henrie Stafford . . . was son to Humfrie earle Stafford, and was high constable of England, and duke of Buckingham. This man raising warre against Richard the third usurping the crowne, was in the first yeare of the reigne of the said Richard, being the yeare of Christ 1483, betrayed by his man Humfrie Banaster (to whome being in distresse he fled for succour) and brought to Richard the third then lieng at Salisburie, where the said duke confessing all the conspiracie, was beheaded without arraignment or judgement."

114. *Restor'd me*] See Holinshed, *ibid.* : "Edward Stafford sonne to Henrie, duke of Buckingham, being also duke of Buckingham after the death of

Made my name once more noble. Now his son, 115
 Henry the Eighth, life, honour, name and all
 That made me happy, at one stroke has taken
 For ever from the world. I had my trial,
 And must needs say, a noble one; which makes me
 A little happier than my wretched father: 120
 Yet thus far we are one in fortunes: both
 Fell by our servants, by those men we lov'd most;
 A most unnatural and faithless service!
 Heaven has an end in all: yet, you that hear me,
 This from a dying man receive as certain: 125
 Where you are liberal of your loves and counsels
 Be sure you be not loose; for those you make friends
 And give your hearts to, when they once perceive
 The least rub in your fortunes, fall away
 Like water from ye, never found again 130
 But where they mean to sink ye. All good people,
 Pray for me! I must now forsake ye: the last hour
 Of my long weary life is come upon me.
 Farewell:
 And when you would say something that is sad, 135
 Speak how I fell. I have done; and God forgive me!
 [*Exeunt Duke and Train.*]

131. *where*] when Collier (ed. 2 and MS.). 132. *now forsake*] leave Pope.
 134, 135. *Farewell . . . sad*] So Capell; one line in Ff. 135. *that is*] omitted
 Pope, reading 134, 135 as one line. 136. *Speak . . . me*] So Pope, reading I've
 for *I have*; two lines in Ff.

his father was constable of England, Earle of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton, being in the first yeare of Henrie the seventh, in the yeare of our redemption 1485, restored to his fathers dignities and possessions. . . . This man (as before is touched) was by Henrie the seventh restored to his fathers inheritance, in recompense of the losse of his fathers life, taken awaie (as before is said . . .) by the usurping Richard the third."

124. *end*] purpose.

127. *loose*] Steevens aptly compares *Othello*, III. iii. 416:—

"There are a kind of men so loose of soul,

That in their sleeps will mutter their affairs."

129. *rub*] check, a metaphor from the game of bowls. A bowl was said to rub when it touched another or passed

over some inequality or obstacle on the surface of the green. A rub would be advantageous if the bowl was going too fast or if it was thereby brought nearer the jack, mistress, or master as the small ball aimed at was called; but the word is most frequently used of an impediment, or disaster. See *Henry V.* v. ii. 33: "What rub or what impediment there is"; *Coriolanus*, III. i. 60:—

"This so dishonour'd rub, laid falsely

In the plain [= smooth] way of his merits";

Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Prophetess*, I. ii. : "though my sure prediction . . . Hath found some rubs and stops . . . it shall come to him." See also Hart's note on *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. i. 137, in this series.

131. *sink*] ruin. See I. 60, *ante*.

First Gent. O, this is full of pity! Sir, it calls,
I fear, too many curses on their heads
That were the authors.

Sec. Gent. If the duke be guiltless,
'Tis full of woe: yet I can give you inkling 140
Of an ensuing evil, if it fall,
Greater than this.

First Gent. Good angels keep it from us!
What may it be? You do not doubt my faith, sir?

Sec. Gent. This secret is so weighty, 'twill require
A strong faith to conceal it.

First Gent. Let me have it; 145
I do not talk much.

Sec. Gent. I am confident;
You shall, sir: did you not of late days hear
A buzzing of a separation
Between the king and Katharine?

First Gent. Yes, but it held not:
For when the king once heard it, out of anger 150
He sent command to the lord mayor straight
To stop the rumour and allay those tongues
That durst disperse it.

Sec. Gent. But that slander, sir,
Is found a truth now: for it grows again
Fresher than e'er it was, and held for certain 155
The king will venture at it. Either the cardinal,
Or some about him near, have, out of malice
To the good queen, possess'd him with a scruple
That will undo her: to confirm this too,

149. *Yes*] omitted Hanmer.

140. *inkling*] a hint, or intimation, strictly a whispering. Cf. *Coriolanus*, i. i. 59: "Our business is not unknown to the senate: they have had inkling this fortnight what we intend to do."

143. *faith*] fidelity, trustworthiness.

146. *I am confident*] I trust you.

148. *buzzing*] whisper, gossip. In N.E. Ireland a "biz," i.e. buzzing, is still used of a secret thoroughly discussed in whispers, as opposed to a passing rumour which is called a "sough".

149. *it held not*] i.e. it ceased. See Holinshed, iii. 719, 720: "There rose a secret brute [i.e. rumour] in London that the Kings confessor doctor Longland, and diverse other great clerks had

told the king that the marriage between him and the ladie Katharine, late wife to his brother prince Arthur was not lawfull: whereupon the king should sue a divorce, and marrie the duchesse of Alanson sister to the French king at the towne of Calis this summer: and that the viscount Rochford had brought with him the picture of the said ladie. The king was offended with those tales, and sent for sir Thomas Seimor maior of the citie of London, secretlie charging him to see that the people ceased from such talke."

152. *allay*] restrain, reduce to silence.

See note on i. i. 149.

155. *held*] i.e. it is held.

Cardinal Campeius is arriv'd, and lately ; 160
As all think, for this business.

First Gent. 'Tis the cardinal ;
And merely to revenge him on the emperor,
For not bestowing on him at his asking
The archbishopric of Toledo, this is purpos'd.

Sec. Gent. I think you have hit the mark : but is't not 165
cruel
That she should feel the smart of this? The cardinal
Will have his will, and she must fall.

First Gent. 'Tis woeful.
We are too open here to argue this ;
Let 's think in private more. [Exeunt.

SCENE II.—*An ante-chamber in the palace.*

Enter the LORD CHAMBERLAIN, reading a letter.

Cham. "My lord, the horses your lordship sent for, with
all the care I had, I saw well chosen, ridden, and
furnish'd. They were young and handsome, and
of the best breed in the north. When they were
ready to set out for London, a man of my lord car- 5
dinal's, by commission and main power, took 'em
from me ; with this reason : His master would be
serv'd before a subject, if not before the king ; which
• stopp'd our mouths, sir."
I fear he will indeed : well, let him have them : 10
He will have all, I think.

165. *I . . . cruel*] So Pope, reading *you've* for *you have*, two lines in Ff.
Scene II.] Scene III. Pope. An ante-chamber . . .] Theobald. Enter
the . . . a letter] Rowe ; Enter . . . this Letter Ff. 10, 11. *I . . . think*]
So Theobald ; as prose Ff.

160. *Campeius*] Laurence Campeius
or Campeggio. He arrived in 1528.

161. *'Tis the cardinal*] See Holin-
shed, iii. 736 : "The cardinall verelie
was put in most blame for this scruple
now cast into the king's conscience,
for the hate he bare to the emperor,
because he would not grant to him the
archbishoprike of Toledo, for the which
he was a suter."

168. *We . . . this*] The exact mean-
ing seems to be "we are indiscreet in
talking of such matters here," rather
than "we are here in too public a

place for such talk," i.e. "here" goes
with "argue" not with "open," and
"here" not "open" is opposed to "in
private".

Act II. Scene II.] By Fletcher (Sped-
ding and Boyle).

1-9. *My . . . sir*] Mr. Craig ap-
proved of Walker's proposed arrange-
ment of these lines as verse.

2, 3. *ridden, and furnish'd*] trained
and trapped out with harness (Craig).

6. *by . . . power*] by the cardinal's
warrant and by superior force ; main =
mighty.

Enter to the LORD CHAMBERLAIN, the DUKES OF NORFOLK and SUFFOLK.

Nor. Well met, my lord chamberlain.

Cham. Good day to both your graces.

Suf. How is the king employ'd?

Cham. I left him private,
Full of sad thoughts and troubles.

Nor. What's the cause? 15

Cham. It seems the marriage with his brother's wife
Has crept too near his conscience.

Suf. No, his conscience
Has crept too near another lady.

Nor. 'Tis so :

This is the cardinal's doing, the king-cardinal :
That blind priest, like the eldest son of fortune, 20
Turns what he list. The king will know him one day.

Suf. Pray God he do ! he'll never know himself else.

Nor. How holily he works in all his business !
And with what zeal ! for, now he has crack'd the
league
Between us and the emperor, the queen's great
nephew, 25
He dives into the king's soul, and there scatters
Dangers, doubts, wringing of the conscience,
Fears and despairs ; and all these for his marriage :
And out of all these to restore the king,
He counsels a divorce ; a loss of her 30
That, like a jewel, has hung twenty years

22. *Pray . . . else*] So Pope ; two lines in Ff. 23. *his*] *this* Capell.
25. *great nephew*] *nephew* Seymour conj. ; *great-nephew* Dyce.

14. *private*] alone, as in *Romeo and Juliet*, I. i. 144 :—

"Away from light steals home my
heavy son,
And private in his chamber pens
himself."

18. *'Tis so*] Vaughan explains : "It is true that the King's marriage with his brother's wife has crept too near his conscience" ; Suffolk's contradiction is spoken aside.

19. *king-cardinal*] cf. count-cardinal, I. i. 172.

20. *blind priest . . . fortune*] Fortune is often called blind as not dis-

tinguishing merit,—eldest sons had special powers and privileges.

22. *else*] This use of *else* at the end of a clause is very common in Fletcher. See *Introduction*.

25. *great nephew*] Wrongly hyphenated by Dyce ; Charles V. was the son of Juana, Katharine's elder sister.

31. *like a jewel*] Fairholt (ap. Halliwell) says : "It was customary in the sixteenth century for gentlemen to wear jewels appended to a ribbon or chain round the neck." Malvolio was to have one when he married Olivia, *Twelfth Night*, II. v. 67. Cf. Beaumont

About his neck, yet never lost her lustre,
 Of her that loves him with that excellence
 That angels love good men with, even of her
 That, when the greatest stroke of fortune falls, 35
 Will bless the king: and is not this course pious?

Cham. Heaven keep me from such counsel! 'Tis most true

These news are every where; every tongue speaks
 'em,
 And every true heart weeps for't: all that dare
 Look into these affairs see this main end, 40
 The French king's sister. Heaven will one day open
 The king's eyes, that so long have slept upon
 This bold bad man.

Suf. And free us from his slavery.

Nor. We had need pray,
 And heartily, for our deliverance; 45
 Or this imperious man will work us all
 From princes into pages: all men's honours
 Lie like one lump before him, to be fashion'd
 Into what pitch he please.

Suf. For me, my lords,
 I love him not, nor fear him; there's my creed; 50
 As I am made without him, so I'll stand,
 If the king please; his curses and his blessings
 Touch me alike; they're breath I not believe in.

40. *this*] *his* F 4. 42. *slept upon*] *slept, upon* Vaughan conj. 44, 45. *We*
. . . deliverance] As one line Pope, omitting *our*; and Wordsworth, omitting
And. 49. *Into*] *E'en* to Lettsom conj. *pitch*] *pinch* Hanmer (Warburton);
batch Theobald conj.

and Fletcher, *Elder Brother*, III. v.:
 "why shouldst thou wear a Jewel of
 this worth, that hath no worth within
 thee to preserve her."

40. *main end*] chief object. See
Introduction.

41. *The . . . sister*] Duchess of Alen-
 çon. See III. ii. 85.

43. *bold bad man*] A phrase of Spenser's, *Faerie Queene*, I. i. 37. Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher, *Loyal Subject*, IV. v.: "The Duke's displeasure By bold bad men crowded into his nature"; Massinger, *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, IV. i.: "Since this bold bad man sir Giles Overreach."

47. *From . . . pages*] The Clarendon ed. cites Holinshed, p. 947: "When he

said masse (which he did oftener to shew his pompe, rather than for anie devotion) he made dukes and earles to serve him of wine, with a say taken, and to hold to him the bason at the lavatorie." The meaning may be more general. Cf. III. ii. 291:—

"Our issues

Who, if he live, will scarce be gentlemen."

49. *pitch*] height (Johnson), degree of dignity (Clarendon ed.). Wolsey may be said to make one man's honours great, another's little, as a potter out of the same lump makes articles of different heights. No really satisfactory explanation or emendation has yet been put forward.

I knew him, and I know him ; so I leave him
To him that made him proud, the pope.

Nor. Let's in ; 55

And with some other business put the king
From these sad thoughts that work too much upon him :
My lord, you'll bear us company?

Cham. Excuse me ;
The king has sent me elsewhere : besides,
You'll find a most unfit time to disturb him : 60
Health to your lordships.

Nor. Thanks, my good lord chamberlain.
[Exit Lord Chamberlain ; and the King draws
the curtain and sits reading pensively.]

Suf. How sad he looks ! sure, he is much afflicted.

King. Who's there, ha ?

Nor. Pray God he be not angry.

King. Who's there, I say ? How dare you thrust your-
selves
Into my private meditations ? 65
Who am I ? ha ?

Nor. A gracious king that pardons all offences
Malice ne'er meant : our breach of duty this way
Is business of estate, in which we come
To know your royal pleasure.

King. Ye are too bold : 70
Go to ; I'll make ye know your times of business :
Is this an hour for temporal affairs, ha ?

Enter WOLSEY and CAMPEIUS, with a commission.

Who's there ? my good lord cardinal ? O my Wolsey,

62. Scene iv. Warburton ; omitted Pope (by mistake).

69. *business of estate*] matters of state, public business.

72. *Campeius*] See Holinshed, iii. 736 : " But howsoever it came about that the king was thus troubled in conscience concerning his marriage, this followed that like a wise & sage prince, to have the doubt cleerlie removed, he called together the best learned of the realme, which were of severall opinions. Wherefore he thought to know the truth by indifferent judges, least peradventure the Spaniards, and other also in favour of

the queene would saie, that his owne subjects were not indifferent judges in this behalfe. And therefore he wrote his cause to Rome, and also sent to all the universities in Italie and France, and to the great clearkes of all christendome, to know their opinions, and desired the court of Rome to send into his realme a legat, which should be indifferent and of a great and profound judgement, to heare the cause debated. At whose request the whole consistorie of the college of Rome sent thither Laurence Campeius, a preest cardinall,

The quiet of my wounded conscience,
 Thou art a cure fit for a king. [*To Camp.*] You're
 welcome, 75

Most learned reverend sir, into our kingdom :
 Use us and it. [*To Wols.*] My good lord, have great
 care

I be not found a talker.

Wol. Sir, you cannot.
 I would your grace would give us but an hour
 Of private conference. 80

King. [*To Nor. and Suf.*] We are busy ; go.

Nor. [*Aside to Suf.*] This priest has no pride in him ?

Suf. [*Aside to Nor.*] Not to speak of :

I would not be so sick though for his place :
 But this cannot continue.

Nor. [*Aside to Suf.*] If it do,

I'll venture one have-at-him.

Suf. [*Aside to Nor.*] I another.

[*Exeunt Norfolk and Suffolk.*]

Wol. Your grace has given a precedent of wisdom 85

Above all princes, in committing freely

Your scruple to the voice of Christendom :

Who can be angry now ? what envy reach you ?

The Spaniard, tied by blood and favour to her,

Must now confess, if they have any goodness, 90

The trial just and noble. All the clerks,

• I mean the learned ones, in Christian kingdoms

75. a king] the king Ff 2-4. 84. one have-at-him] Dyce and Staunton ;
 one ; have at him F 1 ; one heave at him Ff 2-4. 92. ones.] Theobald ; ones Ff.

a man of great wit and experience,
 which was sent thither before in the
 tenth year of this King as yee have
 heard, and with him was joined in com-
 mission the cardinall of Yorke and legat
 of England."

78. talker] Compare Beaumont and
 Fletcher, *Bonduca*, i. i. :—

"Discretion

And hardy valour are the twins of
 honour,

And, nursed together make a
 conqueror,

Divided, but a talker."

Steevens cites *Richard III.* i. iii. 352 :—

"We will not stand to prate :

Talkers are no great doers."

82. so sick though] That is, so sick as
 he is proud (Johnson) ; so sick with

pride (Clarendon ed.). If the latter is
 right, we may compare *Troilus and
 Cressida*, ii. iii. 92 : "He is not sick"
 —"Yes lion-sick, sick of proud heart,"
 With either of these explanations the
 rest of the line must mean, "though I
 should gain his power and position by
 being so". With the pointing of F 4
 (though followed by a comma) etc., we
 must explain—I would not, however,
 have his place at the price of having his
 disease.

84. have-at-him] words of challenge or
 warning, hence an attack. Cf. *Henry
 IV.* i. ii. 217 ; *Troilus and Cressida*,
 v. vi. 11 ; *Hamlet*, v. ii. 313.

85-96. Your . . . Campeius] See note
 on l. 72.

Have their free voices: Rome, the nurse of judgement,
 Invited by your noble self, hath sent
 One general tongue unto us, this good man, 95
 This just and learned priest, Cardinal Campeius;
 Whom once more I present unto your highness.

King. And once more in mine arms I bid him welcome,
 And thank the holy conclave for their loves:
 They have sent me such a man I would have wish'd
 for. 100

Cam. Your grace must needs deserve all strangers' loves,
 You are so noble. To your highness' hand
 I tender my commission; by whose virtue,
 The court of Rome commanding, you, my lord
 Cardinal of York, are join'd with me their servant 105
 In the impartial judging of this business.

King. Two equal men. The queen shall be acquainted
 Forthwith for what you come. Where's Gardiner?

Wol. I know your majesty has always lov'd her
 So dear in heart, not to deny her that 110
 A woman of less place might ask by law,
 Scholars allow'd freely to argue for her.

King. Ay, and the best she shall have; and my favour

93. *Have*] *Gave* Grant White.

96. *learned*] *learn'd* Anon. conj.

93. *Have . . . voices*] are invited to give their unbiassed opinion. Malone thought that the construction was "have sent their free voices; the word *sent*, which occurs in the next line, being understood here." Vaughan agrees, but with the refinement that "have" l. 94 and "hath" l. 95 are alike "temporal signs" of "sent," not understood, but expressed l. 95, and says that the interpretation (which he attributes to all commentators but Malone) "that learned clerks in all Christian countries are free in their opinions" is a statement "quite impertinent here, in and by itself". But the fact is, that the statement is limited by the context to the question of the validity of Henry's marriage. Besides, the associations of the word "voice" in Elizabethan English, in which it often stands for vote or verdict, fit it for its place here, if the meaning be, as I take it, "are free to express their views."

95. *One general tongue*] One to speak for all; "general" has its old sense—universal.

99. *conclave*] the College of Cardinals.

107. *equal*] impartial, as in II. iv. 18, *infra*. Cf. 2 *Henry IV.* iv. i. 67: "equal balance"; 2 *Henry VI.* II. i. 204: "equal scales"; and Pope, *Essay on Man*, l. 87, 88:—

"Who sees with equal eye as God
 of all,

A hero perish, or a sparrow fall."

110. *deny*] refuse, as in v. iii. 161, *infra*. Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher, *Faithful Shepherdess*, II. :—

"They never wear

Deserved favours that deny to take
 When they are offered freely."

113. *Ay . . . have*] See Holinshed, III. 736: "And because the king meant nothing but uprightlie therein, and knew well that the queene was somewhat wedded to hir owne opinion, and wished that she should do nothing without counsell, he bad hir choose the best clearks of his realme to be of hir counsell, and licenced them to doo the best on hir part that they could, according to the truth."

To him that does best : God forbid else. Cardinal,
 Prithee, call Gardiner to me, my new secretary : 115
 I find him a fit fellow. [*Exit Wolsey.*]

Re-enter WOLSEY, with GARDINER.

Wol. [*Aside to Gard.*] Give me your hand : much joy and
 favour to you :

You are the king's now.

Gard. [*Aside to Wol.*] But to be commanded
 For ever by your grace, whose hand has rais'd me.

King. Come hither, Gardiner. [*Walks and whispers.* 120

Cam. My Lord of York, was not one Doctor Pace
 In this man's place before him ?

Wol. Yes, he was.

Cam. Was he not held a learned man ?

Wol. Yes, surely.

Cam. Believe me, there's an ill opinion spread then,
 Even of yourself, lord cardinal.

Wol. How ! of me ? 125

Cam. They will not stick to say you envied him,
 And fearing he would rise, he was so virtuous,
 Kept him a foreign man still ; which so griev'd him
 That he ran mad and died.

Wol. Heaven's peace be with him !

That's Christian care enough : for living murmurers 130

• There's places of rebuke. He was a fool ;

For he would needs be virtuous : that good fellow,
 If I command him, follows my appointment :

115. *Gardiner*] See Holinshed, iii. 737 : "About this time the king received into favour doctor Stephen Gardiner [appointed Secretary 28 July, 1529, afterwards (1531) Bishop of Winchester], whose service he used in matters of great secrecie and weight, admitting him in the roome of doctor Pace, the which being continually abroad in ambassages, and the same oftentimes not much necessarie, by the cardinals appointment, at length he tooke such greefe therewith, that he fell out of his right wits."

121. *Doctor Pace*] He was Dean of St. Paul's and Secretary of State. He was sent to Switzerland to hire the Swiss against Francis I., to Germany to promote the election of Henry VIII. to

the empire, and to Italy to secure the Papal Chair for Wolsey. When abroad he was subjected to exactions and imprisonment, and his insanity may have been brought on by his sufferings. Wolsey can hardly be held responsible, certainly not for his death, for Wolsey died in 1530 and Pace in 1536.

126. *stick*] scruple, hesitate. Cf. 2 *Henry IV.* i. ii. 26 : "He will not stick to say his face is a face-royal."

128. *Kept . . . still*] made him a perpetual exile. He was, as Holinshed says, "continually abroad in ambassages."

133. *follows my appointment*] acts as I appoint or direct. Cf. the phrase "by the cardinals appointment" in the last extract from Holinshed.

I will have none so near else. Learn this, brother,
 We live not to be grip'd by meaner persons. 135
King. Deliver this with modesty to the queen. [*Exit Gardiner.*
 The most convenient place that I can think of
 For such receipt of learning is Black-Friars;
 There ye shall meet about this weighty business.
 My Wolsey, see it furnish'd. O, my Lord, 140
 Would it not grieve an able man to leave
 So sweet a bedfellow? But, conscience, conscience!
 O, 'tis a tender place; and I must leave her. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III.—*An ante-chamber of the Queen's apartments.*

Enter ANNE BULLEN and an old Lady.

Anne. Not for that neither: here's the pang that pinches:
 His highness having liv'd so long with her, and she
 So good a lady that no tongue could ever
 Pronounce dishonour of her—by my life,
 She never knew harm-doing—O, now, after 5
 So many courses of the sun enthroned,
 Still growing in a majesty and pomp, the which

Scene III.] Scene v. Pope. An ante-chamber . . . Theobald. 2. *highness*
grace Wordsworth. *having*] omitted Pope. 7. *a majesty*] *majesty* Dyce (ed.
 2, S. Walker conj.).

134. *near*] The meaning is much the same whether we supply "me" or "the court." Cf. II. i. 47: "far enough from court too."

135. *grip'd*] Used perhaps in the obsolete sense of "grapple with, come to close quarters with." See *New Eng. Dict.*

136. *Deliver*] relate, as in I. ii. 143: "Deliver all with charity."

138. *such . . . learning*] the reception or the accommodation of such learned men. See Holinshed, iii. 737: "The place where the cardinals should sit to heare the cause of matrimonie betwixt the King and the queene, was ordeined to be at the Black friers in London, where in the great hall was preparation made of seats, tables, and other furniture, according to such a solemn session and roiall apparance."

Act II. Scene III.] By Shakespeare (*Spedding*), by Massinger (*Boyle*).

"Scene iii.," says Mr. Boyle, "is by Massinger, and seems quite out of place.

It disturbs the interest in Katharine, which comes to a head in the next scene." I think it may be Shakespeare's, and it seems less patched than other scenes that have been attributed to him. Lines 17-22 could hardly have been written by Massinger, line 21 in particular has a lift and movement quite Shakesperian. As to its place, it throws light on the king's motives, and on one courtier's attitude towards the divorce, thus marking the turn of the tide. If Anne's fall was included in the original scheme, her pity for the queen may have been intended as a forecast of her own fate.

7-9. *Still . . . acquire*] Pope secured two symmetrical lines, ending *pomp* . . . *bitter*, by omitting 'Tis, a reading Theobald accepted with the addition of 's to *leave*. If we accept S. Walker's conjecture, *majesty* for *a majesty* (an emendation that raises the rhythm to an equality with its neighbours), and transpose *than* and 'tis, the passage would run—

To leave a thousand-fold more bitter than
 'Tis sweet at first to acquire—after this process,
 To give her the avaunt! it is a pity 10
 Would move a monster.

Old L. Hearts of most hard temper
 Melt and lament for her.

Anne. O, God's will! much better
 She ne'er had known pomp: though 't be temporal,
 Yet, if that quarrel, fortune, do divorce

8. *leave*] *leave* 's Theobald. *8, 9. *than*, 'Tis sweet] *Than sweet* Theobald.
 14. *that quarrel, fortune, do*] *that quarell. Fortune, do* F 1; *they quarrel, and fortune do* Upton conj.; *at quarrel, fortune do* Mason conj.; *that quarrel fortune to* Steevens conj.; *that carle, ill-fortune, do* Becket conj.; *that cruel fortune do* Collier (ed. 2 and MS.); *that fortune's quarrel do* Hudson (Lettsom conj.); *that squirrel, Fortune, do* Staunton conj.

"Still growing in majesty and pomp
 —the which
 To leave—a thousand fold more
 better 'tis,
 Than sweet at first t' acquire."
 Capell followed the arrangement of Ff, but read *leave* 's with Theobald and expanded *t' acquire*. If's is to be inserted, it would sound better after *fold*.

9. *process*] course or progress. It is almost equivalent to "procession" in *Sonnet* civ. 6:—

"Three beauteous springs to mellow
 autumn turn'd

In process of the seasons have I
 seen."

10. *To . . . avaunt*] To reject her. *Avaunt* meaning forward or onward, and hence "be gone!" is used for dismissal or rejection as *have-at-him* for attack, II. ii. 85.

10. *pity*] subject for pity; a sorrow or calamity.

13. *temporal*] i.e. not eternal. Cf. *Cymbeline*, v. iv. 12:—

"So children temporal fathers do
 appease;

Gods are more full of mercy."

14. *if that quarrel, fortune, do*] Two points are doubtful, the meaning of "quarrel" and of "that." "That" may be explained as a demonstrative = the well-known, or it may be used in apposition to the whole clause, as in *Merchant of Venice*, III. ii. 224:—

"If that the youth of my new interest
 here

Have power," etc.

Johnson's explanation, which the Clarendon ed. supports with many illustrations, is as follows: "I think the poet may be easily supposed to use *quarrel* for *quarrelor*, as *murder* for the *murderer* [e.g. *King John*, IV. III. 37], the act for the agent." Warburton says: "She calls Fortune a *quarrel* or arrow, from her striking so deep and suddenly." With this sense I should prefer Lettsom's conjecture accepted by Hudson: "if that *fortune's quarrel*," etc. Cf. *Hamlet*, III. i. 58: "The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune." Steevens, while thinking Johnson may be right, ingeniously proposes:—

"Yet if that quarrel fortune to
 divorce

It from the hearer,"

i.e. if any quarrel happen or chance to divorce it from the bearer. "To fortune" is a verb used by Shakespeare in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, v. iv. 169:—

"I'll tell you as we pass along,
 That you will wonder what hath
 fortun'd."

The verb "fortune" was at the time in general use. Among other conjectures, that of Staunton, *squirrel* for *quarrel*, is conspicuous. It gives an original picture of Fortune, metamorphosed and "operating" her wheel from within. It is possible that *quarrel* may be a misprint for some epithet. Collier (ed. 2) read *cruel*, with more regard for the context, which is serious in tone, than he sometimes shows.

It from the bearer, 'tis a sufferance panging 15
As soul and body's severing.

Old L. Alas, poor lady!

She's a stranger now again.

Anne. So much the more

Must pity drop upon her. Verily,
I swear, 'tis better to be lowly born,
And range with humble livers in content, 20
Than to be perk'd up in a glistening grief
And wear a golden sorrow.

Old L. Our content

Is our best having.

Anne. By my troth and maidenhead,

I would not be a queen.

Old L. Beshrew me, I would,

And venture maidenhead for 't; and so would you, 25

For all this spice of your hypocrisy:

15. *sufferance*] suffering, pain. See v. i. 68, and *Measure for Measure*, III. i. 80:—

"And the poor beetle that we tread upon

In corporal sufferance finds a pang as great

As when a giant dies"

(Clarendon ed.).

15. *panging*] causing pain. "Pang'd" means pained in *Cymbeline*, III. iv. 98.

16. *As . . . severing*] Compare *Anthony and Cleopatra*, IV. xiii. 6:—

"The soul and body rive not more in parting

Than greatness going off"

(Malone).

17. *a stranger now again*] as when she first came; Anne is looking forward, the Old Lady, back. "Stranger" is foreigner, *advena*. Cf. II. iv. 15.

17, 18. *So . . . her*] A polite pretence of interest, followed by a return to her own thoughts.

20. *range*] associate with on equal terms, rank with. See *Much Ado About Nothing*, II. ii. 7: "his affection ranges evenly with mine."

21. *perk'd*] finely dressed, pranked or trimmed. See *New Eng. Dict. sub Perk*, v¹, II. This harmonises with "wear" in the next line. Others take it as if it were in opposition to "range" and "humble," "perched up, placed in an elevated position" (Clarendon ed.); "Range" expresses social equality

with specific precision, and "range" with humble livers is contrasted with "to be perk'd up" (Vaughan). For perk = perch see *New Eng. Dict. sub Perk*, v², which cites Greene, *Pandosto, Ded.* (1607): "Cæsars Crowe durst never cry, *Ane*, but when she was peaked on the Capitoll."

23. *having*] possession. See III. ii. 159, *infra*, and *Cymbeline*, I. ii. 19: "You have land enough of your own: but he added to your having: gave you some ground."

23. *maidenhead*] maidenhood.

26. *For all*] In spite of; still so used provincially. Cf. *Macbeth*, IV. ii. 37: "My father is not dead for all your saying"; 3 *Henry VI.* v. vi. 20: "And yet, for all his wings, the fool was drowned"; *Cymbeline*, V. iv. 209: "for all he be a Roman," i.e. though he is, in spite of his being.

26. *spice*] Prof. Case compares "a spiced conscience" in Chaucer, *Prolog.* 526; and in Chapman, *Revenge of Bussy*, III. i.:—

"Never spice it more

With forced terms of your love."

"Spice" is sometimes used as "touch," "taste," "flavour," for particle, connoting minuteness rather than seasoning. See *Coriolanus*, IV. vii. 46:—

"One of these

As he hath spices of them all, not all,"

You, that have so fair parts of woman on you,
 Have too a woman's heart ; which ever yet
 Affected eminence, wealth, sovereignty ;
 Which, to say sooth, are blessings ; and which gifts— 30
 Saving your mincing—the capacity
 Of your soft cheveril conscience would receive,
 If you might please to stretch it.

Anne.

Nay, good troth.

Old L. Yes, troth, and troth ; you would not be a queen ?

Anne. No, not for all the riches under heaven. 35

Old L. 'Tis strange : a three-pence bow'd would hire me,

Old as I am, to queen it : but, I pray you,
 What think you of a duchess ? have you limbs
 To bear that load of title ?

Anne.

No, in truth.

Old L. Then you are weakly made : pluck off a little ; 40

I would not be a young count in your way,
 For more than blushing comes to : if your back
 Cannot vouchsafe this burthen, 'tis too weak
 Ever to get a boy.

40. *off*] *up* Johnson conj.

etc. If it is so used here, we may paraphrase,—in spite of this little touch of dissimulation on your part.

27. *parts of woman*] Parts are points or particulars. The sense is—you have the desires as well as the allurements of your sex. In Beaumont and Fletcher, *Thierry and Theodoret*, II. i., the phrase is used of the passions:—

"If she have any part of woman in her,

She'll or fly out, or" etc.,

the difference being due to the preposition "in" instead of "on".

31. *Saving your mincing*] with all respect to your prudery ; a phrase formed on the analogy of *salva reverentia*. Cf. *Comedy of Errors*, IV. i. 27 : "Saving your merry humour, here's the note." With "mincing" Prof. Case compares *Antony and Cleopatra*, I. ii. 102 : "Speak to me home, mince not the general tongue," and Hart's note, in this series.

32. *cheveril*] kid leather. Cf. *Twelfth Night*, III. i. 13 : "A sentence is but a cheveril glove to a good wit" ; *Romeo and Juliet*, II. iv. 87 : "Oh, here's a wit of cheveril, that stretches from an inch narrow to an ell broad." Stevens

cites *Histrionastix*, 1610 : "The cheveril conscience of corrupted law" ; and Halliwell, among other examples, Upton's MS. additions to Junius : "*Proverbiale est*, he hath a conscience like a cheveril's skin : it will stretch." The modern equivalent is "elastic."

36. *a three-pence bow'd*] a bent three-penny bit. For "bow'd" cf. Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Captain*, II. ii. : "Lead that bows or breaks." The Clarendon ed. notes that being bowed it is worthless as money, and cites Heywood's *Proverbs* (Spenser Soc. p. 201) : "No sylver, bowde, broken, clypt, crakt, nor cut." Fairholt (*ap.* Halliwell) says : "This allusion to the old custom of ratifying an engagement by a bent coin (one particularly affected by love-lorn country-folks) here involves an anachronism. No three-pences were coined by Henry 8, nor was the coin known in England until the close of the reign of Edward 6."

40. *pluck off*] Go a step lower. Johnson proposed *pluck up* = take courage, asking "what must she pluck off ?" The answer is simple—the difference in rank between a duchess and a countess.

Anne.

How you do talk !

I swear again, I would not be a queen

45

For all the world.

Old L.

In faith, for little England

You 'ld venture an emballing : I myself

Would for Carnarvonshire, although there 'long'd

No more to the crown but that. Lo, who comes here ?

Enter the LORD CHAMBERLAIN.

Cham. Good morrow, ladies. What were 't worth to
know

50

The secret of your conference ?

Anne.

My good Lord,

Not your demand ; it values not your asking :

Our mistress' sorrows we were pitying.

Cham. It was a gentle business, and becoming

47. *emballing*] *empalling* Malone conj. ; *embalming* Whalley conj. ; *empaling* Jackson conj.

46. *little England*] used, as now, of England contrasted with larger countries. Greene, *Spanish Masquerado* (Works, ed. Grosart, p. 255), calls it "a little Ilande, a handfull in respect of other Kingdoms," and again (p. 263) speaks of the Spanish clergy as "sorie that litle England should suppresse their graund Patronesse" [the Holy See]. Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher, *Woman's Prize*, v. iv. : "Well, little England, when I see a husband Of any other nation" etc. The words "although there 'long'd No more to the crown" etc. seem conclusive ; but Whalley suspected an allusion to a part of Pembrokeshire. See Camden, *Britannia*, trans. Holland, 1610, p. 652 : "This tract was inhabited by Flemings out of the Low countries who by permission of King Henrie the First were planted heere . . . and so neere joined they are in society of the same language with Englishmen, who come nighest of any nation to the low Dutch tongue, that this their little countrie is tearmed by the Britans *Little England beyond Wales*." Steevens cites to the same effect *A Short Relation of a Long Journey*, etc., by John Taylor, the Water Poet : "Concerning *Pembrookshire*, the people do speak English in it almost generally [i.e. universally], and therefore they call it *Little England beyond Wales*, it

being the farthest south and west county in the whole principality." Boswell rightly explains "You would for little England. I would for a single Welsh county." Carnarvonshire is spoken of as less than little England, which cannot therefore be merely a part of Pembrokeshire ; and only a prophetess could know that Anne was to be Marchioness of Pembroke.

47. *emballing*] Some commentators have not realised as clearly as Anne how the Old Lady does talk. Johnson explains : "You would venture to be distinguished by the ball, the ensign of royalty." Cf. *Henry V.* iv. 1. 277 : "The balm, the sceptre, and the ball," etc. Tollet objects that "a queen-consort, such as Anne Bullen was, is not distinguished by the ball, the ensign of royalty." See note on "royal makings," iv. i. 87, *infra*. Malone proposed *empalling*, i.e. being invested with the *pall* or robes of state, and cited for the meaning "invest" or "enrobe," *Edward III.* iii. iii. 180, where "impall" is used of armour, and *Macbeth*, i. v. 52, where "pall" is used of "the dunneat smoke of hell." Whalley proposed "embalming," balm being used in *Richard II.* iii. ii. 55, for the oil of consecration.

52. *Not your demand*] i.e. It were not worth your demand.

The action of good women : there is hope 55
All will be well.

Anne. Now, I pray God, amen !

Cham. You bear a gentle mind, and heavenly blessings
Follow such creatures. That you may, fair lady,
Perceive I speak sincerely, and high note's
Ta'en of your many virtues, the king's majesty 60
Commends his good opinion of you, and
Does purpose honour to you no less flowing
Than Marchioness of Pembroke ; to which title
A thousand pound a year, annual support,
Out of his grace he adds.

Anne. I do not know 65
What kind of my obedience I should tender ;
More than my all is nothing : nor my prayers
Are not words duly hallow'd, nor my wishes
More worth than empty vanities ; yet prayers and
wishes
Are all I can return. Beseech your lordship, 70
Vouchsafe to speak my thanks and my obedience,
As from a blushing handmaid, to his highness,
Whose health and royalty I pray for.

Cham. Lady,
I shall not fail to approve the fair conceit
The king hath of you. [*Aside*] I have perus'd her
well ; 75
• Beauty and honour in her are so mingled
That they have caught the king : and who knows yet

59. and high note's] Theobald ; and high notes F 1 ; and high note is Hanmer ;
an high note's Johnson ; and that high note's Capell. 61. of you] Capell, of
you, to you Ff ; to you Pope. 67. is] which is Warburton. nor] for Pope.
69. empty] omitted Pope. vanities] wants Vaughan conj.

61. Commends . . . opinion] Used
much as the later "presents his com-
pliments."

63. Marchioness of Pembroke] See
Holinshed, iii. 776 : "On the first of
September [1532] being Sundaie, the
K. being come to Windsor, created the
ladie Anne Bullongne marchionesse of
Penbroke, and gave to hir one thousand
pounds land by the yeare."

74. to . . . conceit] to speak so as to
confirm the king in his good opinion
of you—a bid for Anne's favour.
"Approve" is prove true, justify. Cf.
Merchant of Venice, iii. ii. 79 : "will

bless it and approve it with a text" ;
"Conceit" is opinion. Cf. *Two Gentle-
men of Verona*, iii. ii. 17 : "the good
conceit I hold of thee."

75. perus'd] studied, examined min-
utely. See *All's Well that Ends
Well*, ii. iii. 67 :—

"Peruse them well :
Not one of those but had a noble
father" ;

Romeo and Juliet, v. iii. 74 : "Let me
peruse this face." So "perusal" is
used of "a painter poring on a face"
in *Hamlet*, ii. i. 90.

But from this lady may proceed a gem
To lighten all this isle?—I'll to the king,
And say I spoke with you.

Anne.

My honour'd lord. 80

[Exit Lord Chamberlain.]

Old L. Why, this it is; see, see!

I have been begging sixteen years in court,
Am yet a courtier beggarly, nor could
Come pat betwixt too early and too late
For any suit of pounds; and you, O fate! 85
A very fresh fish here—fie, fie, fie, upon
This compell'd fortune!—have your mouth fill'd up
Before you open it.

Anne.

This is strange to me.

Old L. How tastes it? is it bitter? forty pence, no.

89. *bitter* ? . . . *pence*] *not bitter for thy sense* Jackson conj.

78. *a gem*] A carbuncle was supposed to give light of itself. See *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Cæsterley, p. 438: "respexitque ad unum angulum et vidit lapidem politum, qui vocatur carbunculus, a quo tota domus lumen recepit." Cf. Morris, *The Writing on the Image* :—

"And over against the royal seat
Was hung a lamp, although no flame
Was burning there, but there was set
Within its open golden fret
A huge carbuncle, red and bright :
Wherefrom there shone forth such a light
That great hall was as clear by it,
As though by wax it had been lit,
As some great church at Easter-tide."

The compliment to Elizabeth has been supposed to indicate an early date for the play.

81. *this it is*] Not unlike the modern colloquialisms, "such is life," "there you are." For "this" = thus, see *Venus and Adonis*, l. 205, and note in this series.

82-85. *I . . . fate*] See a similar complaint in Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Captain*, v. i. :—

"Well, thou hast fool's luck; should
I live as long
As an old Oak, and say my prayers hourly,
I should not be the better of a penny."

85. *suit of pounds*] Moneys is her

suit, as Shylock would say, but she speaks as if she had been asking for cast-off clothes. Cf. "suit of sables," *Hamlet*, iii. ii. 138. The word is played on in *As You Like It*, iv. i. 89: "Not out of your apparel and yet out of your suit."

87. *compell'd*] Accented on the penultimate as in *Measure for Measure*, ii. iv. 57, the only other instance in Shakespeare, whereas the modern pronunciation occurs about sixteen times. A compelled fortune is one which she is compelled to accept. Similar phrases are "a compell'd restraint" (*All's Well that Ends Well*, ii. iv. 44) and "a compelled valour" (*Hamlet*, iv. vi. 17).

89. *forty pence*] Roderick proposed for *two-pence*, but a bet was often made by merely mentioning the amount. See Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Chances*, iv. i. :—

"Yet ten Duckets, Duke,
She falls upon her knees."

Forty pence was, as Malone notes, the half of a noble, an attorney's fee, and a proverbial expression for a small wager or a small sum. He cites Green's *Groundwork of Coney Catching*: "forty pence gaged against a match of wrestling"; and *The Longer Thou Livest, the more Fool Thou Art*: "I dare wage with any man forty pence." Steevens adds from *The Storye of King Darius*, an interlude: "Nay, that I will not for forty pence." This form is found in Beau-

There was a lady once, 'tis an old story, 90
 That would not be a queen, that would she not,
 For all the mud in Egypt: have you heard it?

Anne. Come, you are pleasant.

Old L. With your theme, I could
 O'er mount the lark. The Marchioness of Pembroke!
 A thousand pounds a year for pure respect! 95
 No other obligation! By my life,
 That promises mo thousands: honour's train
 Is longer than his foreskirt. By this time
 I know your back will bear a duchess: say,
 Are you not stronger than you were?

Anne. • Good lady, 100
 Make yourself mirth with your particular fancy,
 And leave me out on 't. Would I had no being,
 If this salute my blood a jot: it faints me,
 To think what follows.
 The queen is comfortless, and we forgetful 105
 In our long absence: pray, do not deliver
 What here you've heard to her.

Old L. What do you think me?
 [*Exeunt.*]

90. a lady] no lady Ff 3, 4; an old lady Rowe. 97. mo] more Rowe.
 103. salute] elate Collier MS.

mont and Fletcher, e.g. *Spanish Curate*, II. i. :—

"That 's not i' th' Canons,
 I would it had, 'tis out of our way
 forty pence";

and *Wild-Goose Chase*, v. v. :—

"Now could I spend my forty-pence,
 With all my heart."

Shakespeare does not use it elsewhere, but instead, the equivalent expression, ten groats. See *All's Well that Ends Well*, II. ii. 22: "As fit as ten groats for the hand of an attorney"; and *Richard II.* v. v. 68: "The cheapest of us is ten groats too dear."

90. an old story] A classical original was once sought for this story in *Notes and Queries*, but without result. "Old" is ironical, and the story dates only from l. 24 above.

92. mud in Egypt] i.e. its wealth. Cf. "riches of the world," l. 35 above.

97. mo] more, of number. Cf. III. ii. 5.

97, 98. honour's . . . foreskirt] See Fairholt (*ap.* Halliwell): "At the close

of the fifteenth century, the superfluous use of cloth and the vast expenses incurred at the funerals of the nobility and gentry, led to the enactment of sumptuary laws by which the length of the train was regulated by the rank of the wearer. Margaret, Countess of Richmond undertook in the eighth year of the reign of her son, Henry VII., to regulate those of the ladies; those highest in rank to wear the longest, their surcoats with a train before and another behind, and their mantles with trains," etc.

102. out on 't] out of it, as in v. iii. 110: "Would I were fairly out on 't." "On" was used in many phrases where we now use "of."

103. salute . . . jot] "cause my blood to rise the least in acknowledgment" (Clarendon ed.); exhilarate. Cf. *Sonnet cxxi.* 6: "Give salutation to my sportive blood" (Craig).

103. faints] makes me feel faint; not a Shakespearean use of the word.

106. deliver] report. Cf. I. ii. 143.

SCENE IV.—*A hall in Black-Friars.*

Trumpets, sennet, and cornets. Enter two Vergers, with short silver wands; next them, two Scribes, in the habit of doctors; after them, the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY alone; after him, the BISHOPS OF LINCOLN, ELY, ROCHESTER, and SAINT ASAPH; next them, with some small distance, follows a Gentleman bearing the purse, with the great seal, and a cardinal's hat; then two Priests, bearing each a silver cross; then a Gentleman Usher bare-headed, accompanied with a Sergeant at arms bearing a silver mace; then two Gentlemen bearing two great silver pillars; after them, side by side, the two CARDINALS; two Noblemen with the sword and mace. The KING takes place under the cloth of state; the two CARDINALS sit under him as judges. The QUEEN takes place some distance from the KING. The Bishops place themselves on each side the court, in manner of a consistory; below them, the Scribes. The Lords sit next the Bishops. The rest of the Attendants stand in convenient order about the stage.

Wol. Whilst our commission from Rome is read,
Let silence be commanded.

Scene iv.] Scene vi. Pope. A hall . . .] Capell. Black-Fryers.] Theobald.
Stage direction 3. Archbishop] Johnson; Bishop Ff.

Act II. Scene iv.] By Shakespeare (Spedding), by Massinger (Boyle).

The first sitting of the court, not mentioned here or in Holinshed, took place according to Hall on the 28th [? 31st] of May, 1529. The queen appeared in person and appealed to Rome. The King was represented by two proctors. There may be a reference in line 3 to this first sitting, but line 4 ignores the queen's appeal.

For the matter of this scene see the extracts from Holinshed in the Appendix.

Stage direction 1. *Trumpets, sennet, and cornets*] See Cowling's *Music on the Shaksperian Stage*, pp. 45, 47, 96: "A Sennet appears to have been a prelude played upon trumpets. It was more elaborate and lasted longer than a 'flourish.' The word is usually derived from Lat. *sonare*. Probably it is a doublet of 'sonnet' from Ital. *sonetto*. A sennet is always directed for the entrance (or exit) of a most important personage. For instance . . . Henry VIII. 'Trumpets, sennet, and cornets,' are indicated during the

procession to the Consistory (Act II. Scene iv.). Probably this direction means a sennet played by both trumpets and cornets. . . . The procession . . . would require about two minutes."

Stage direction 3-5. *Archbishop . . . Saint Asaph*] "These were William Warham, John Longland, Nicholas West, John Fisher, and Henry Standish. [Warham], West, Fisher, and Standish were counsel for the Queen" (Reed).

Stage direction 7-8. *bearing . . . cross*] In a plate (etched from a MS. in Singer's ed. of Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey* (p. 149) representing Wolsey and his suite in progress two crosses are carried on horseback immediately behind the two pillars. But William Royce, *Rede me and be not wrothe* (quoted by Steevens), has:—

"Before hym rideth two prestes
stronge;
And they beare two crosses right
longe,
Gapynge in every man's face.
After them follow two laye men
secular,

King. What's the need?

It hath already publicly been read,
And on all sides the authority allow'd;
You may then spare that time.

Wol. Be't so. Proceed. 5

Scribe. Say, Henry King of England, come into the court.

Crier. Henry King of England, &c.

King. Here.

Scribe. Say, Katharine Queen of England, come into the court. 10

Crier. Katharine Queen of England, &c.

[*The Queen makes no answer, rises out of her chair, goes about the court, comes to the King, and kneels at his feet; then speaks.*

Q. Kath. Sir, I desire you do me right and justice,
And to bestow your pity on me; for
I am a most poor woman, and a stranger, 15
Born out of your dominions; having here
No judge indifferent, nor no more assurance
Of equal friendship and proceeding. Alas, sir,
In what have I offended you? what cause
Hath my behaviour given to your displeasure, 20
That thus you should proceed to put me off,
And take your good grace from me? Heaven
witness,

I have been to you a true and humble wife,

10, 11. Say . . . court] Two lines. Ff; as prose, Capell.

And eche of them holdynge a pillar,
In their hondes steade of a
mace."

See Cavendish, ed. Singer, p. 94:
"Then had he two great crosses of
silver, whereof one of them was for his
Archbishoprick, and the other for his
Legacy, borne always before him
whither soever he went or rode, by two
of the most tallest and comeliest priests
that he could get within all this realm."

Stage direction 11. *pillars*] See
Nares's *Glossary* (new ed. p. 659):
"Pillars. Ornamented pillars were
formerly carried before a cardinal," etc.

15. *a stranger*] cf. 11. iii. 17; from
Holinshed, iii. 737: "I am a poore
woman, and a stranger, borne out of
your dominion, having here no indif-
ferent counsell, & lesse assurance of

friendship." See also Cavendish, *Life
of Wolsey*, p. 95: "Then he held also,
as it were in *ferme*, Bath, Worcester,
and Hereford, because the incumbents
thereof were strangers, born out of
this realm, continuing always beyond
the seas," etc.

17. *indifferent*] impartial. Cf. *Richard
II.* 11. iii. 116:—

"I beseech your grace
Look on my wrongs with an in-
different eye";

Henry V. 1. i. 72:—

"He seems indifferent,
Or rather swaying more upon our
part";

and P.B. *Prayer for church militant*:
"that they may truly and indifferently
minister justice."

At all times to your will conformable,
 Ever in fear to kindle your dislike, 25
 Yea, subject to your countenance, glad or sorry
 As I saw it inclin'd; when was the hour
 I ever contradicted your desire,
 Or made it not mine too? Or which of your friends
 Have I not strove to love, although I knew 30
 He were mine enemy? what friend of mine
 That had to him deriv'd your anger, did I
 Continue in my liking? nay, gave notice
 He was from thence discharg'd? Sir, call to mind
 That I have been your wife, in this obedience, 35
 Upward of twenty years, and have been blest
 With many children by you: if in the course
 And process of this time you can report,
 And prove it too, against mine honour aught,
 My bond to wedlock or my love and duty, 40
 Against your sacred person, in God's name,
 Turn me away, and let the foul'st contempt
 Shut door upon me, and so give me up
 To the sharp'st kind of justice. Please you, sir,
 The king, your father, was reputed for 45
 A prince most prudent, of an excellent
 And unmatched wit and judgement: Ferdinand,
 My father, king of Spain, was reckon'd one
 The wisest prince that there had reign'd by many
 A year before: it is not to be question'd 50
 That they had gather'd a wise council to them
 Of every realm, that did debate this business,
 Who deem'd our marriage lawful: wherefore I humbly
 Beseech you, sir, to spare me, till I may

29. *Or which*] *which* Pope. 33. *nay, gave*] *nay, gave not* Hanmer; *nor gave* Steevens conj. 53, 54. *I . . . spare*] *humbly, Sir I beseech you spare* Pope.

27. *As . . . inclin'd*] cf. *Cymbeline*, i. i. 1-3.

32. *to . . . anger*] drawn your anger upon him. Cf. *All's Well that Ends Well*, v. iii. 265: "and things which would derive me ill will to speak of."

33. *gave*] Perhaps we may supply "have I not" from l. 30: "Have I not gave," i.e. given. Hanmer read "gave not notice," which Johnson approved, thinking "not was dropped before notice, having the same letters."

48. *one*] cf. ii. iv. 153, *infra*, and *Cymbeline*, i. vi. 165. Seemingly used as *unus* in Latin to intensify the superlative. See Plautus, *As*, iii. i. 16: "quam ego unam vidi mulierem audacissimam"; Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 426: "justissimus unus". The construction occurs also in Old and Middle English as well as in Elizabethan writers. Holinshed has merely: "was reckoned one of the finest princes that reigned in Spain manie yeares before."

Be by my friends in Spain advis'd, whose counsel 55
I will implore : if not, i' the name of God,
Your pleasure be fulfill'd !

Wol. You have here, lady,
And of your choice, these reverend fathers ; men
Of singular integrity and learning,
Yea, the elect o' the land, who are assembled 60
To plead your cause : it shall be therefore bootless
That longer you desire the court, as well
For your own quiet, as to rectify
What is unsettled in the king.

Cam. His grace
Hath spoken well and justly : therefore, madam, 65
It 's fit this royal session do proceed,
And that without delay their arguments
Be now produc'd and heard.

Q. Kath. Lord cardinal,
To you I speak.

Wol. Your pleasure, madam ?

Q. Kath. Sir,
I am about to weep ; but, thinking that 70
We are a queen, or long have dream'd so, certain
The daughter of a king, my drops of tears
I 'll turn to sparks of fire.

Wol. Be patient yet.

Q. Kath. I will, when you are humble ; nay, before,
Or God will punish me. I do believe, 75
Induc'd by potent circumstances, that
You are mine enemy, and make my challenge

62. *desire*] *defer* F 4 ; *defy* Vaughan conj. *court*] *court delay'd* Keightley conj.,
reading as well . . . *rectify* as one line. 68, 69. *Lord* . . . *speak*] So Pope ;
one line Ff. 69, 70. *Sir* . . . *that*] So Pope ; one line Ff. 70. *am*] *was*
Hudson (Daniel conj.).

61. *bootless*] useless ; "boot" is profit.
62. *desire*] Perhaps corrupted from
delay by a copyist or compositor who
may have suspected a pun—*desire* the
court (= short) to be longer. F 4 has
defer, and Keightley conjectured

"That longer you desire the court
delay'd"

As well" etc.
Vaughan proposes *defy* in the sense
of "renounce, disavow". Malone
may be right in explaining "That you
desire to protract the business of the
court ; that you desire a more distant

session and trial. "To pray for a
longer day," i.e. a more distant one,
when the trial or execution of criminals
is agitated, is yet the language of the
bar."

71. *certain*] certainly, as in *Love's
Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 645 ; *Merchant of
Venice*, II. vi. 29.

74. *nay, before*] i.e. before you are
humble, for you will never be so.

77. *challenge*] *challenge* is here a
verbum juris, a law term. The criminal
when he refuses a juryman says, "I
challenge him" (Johnson).

You shall not be my judge: for it is you
 Have blown this coal betwixt my lord and me;
 Which God's dew quench! Therefore I say again, 80
 I utterly abhor, yea, from my soul
 Refuse you for my judge; whom, yet once more,
 I hold my most malicious foe, and think not
 At all a friend to truth.

Wol. I do profess
 You speak not like yourself; who ever yet 85
 Have stood to charity and display'd the effects
 Of disposition gentle, and of wisdom
 O'ertopping woman's power. Madam, you do me
 wrong: *
 I have no spleen against you, nor injustice
 For you or any: how far I have proceeded, 90
 Or how far further shall, is warranted
 By a commission from the consistory,
 Yea, the whole consistory of Rome. You charge me
 That I have blown this coal: I do deny it:
 The king is present: if it be known to him 95
 That I gainsay my deed, how may he wound,

96. *how]* now *Delius* conj.

78, 79. *for . . . me]* This imputation may have originated with Polydore Vergil, who says (*Angl. Hist.* 1555, pp. 685, 686) that Wolsey, resenting the Queen's advice to mend his ways, discussed the legality of the marriage with the King's confessor, John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, went himself to Henry and again two days after with Longland, and in the end succeeded in bringing the matter to trial. Polydore, after the manner of Thucydides, gives verbatim report of the words spoken. See also note on ll. 81, 82.

81, 82. *abhor . . . Refuse]* Blackstone says: "These are not mere words of passion, but technical terms in the canon Law [equivalent to] *Detestor* and *Recuso*. The former, in the language of canonists, signifies no more than 'I protest against.' Malone adds: "The words are Holinshed's." See iii. p. 739: "Heere it is to be noted that the queene in the presence of the whole court most greivously accused the cardinall of untruth, deceit, wickednesse, & malice, which had sowne dissention betwixt hir and the King hir husband; and therefore openlie protested, that

she did utterlie abhor, refuse, and forsake such a judge, as was not onlie a most malicious enemie to hir, but also a manifest adversarie unto all right and justice, and therewith did she appeale unto the pope committing hir whole cause to be judged of him."

86. *stood to]* taken the side of, maintained or supported. See 3 *Henry VI.* II. iii. 51:—

"And give them leave to fly that
 will not stay;
 And call them pillars that have
 stood to us";

Coriolanus, III. i. 208:—

"Or let us stand to our authority,
 Or let us lose it."

89. *spleen]* See *ante*, I. ii. 174. The spleen was supposed to be the seat of rancour as well as of laughter, and (according to Phineas Fletcher) of fear. The word usually implies impulse rather than deliberation. See *King John*, IV. iii. 97: "hasty spleen"; Beaumont and Fletcher, *Scornful Lady*, IV. i.: "a spleen no sin of malice."

96. *gainsay my deed]* have done as you say and now deny it. Cf. *Winter's Tale*, III. ii. 57:—

And worthily, my falsehood ! yea, as much
 As you have done my truth. If he know
 That I am free of your report, he knows
 I am not of your wrong. Therefore in him 100
 It lies to cure me ; and the cure is to
 Remove these thoughts from you : the which before
 His highness shall speak in, I do beseech
 You, gracious madam, to unthink your speaking,
 And to say so no more.

Q. Kath. My lord, my lord, 105
 I am a simple woman, much too weak
 To oppose your cunning. You're meek and humble-
 mouth'd ;
 You sign your place and calling, in full seeming,
 With meekness and humility ; but your heart
 Is cramm'd with arrogance, spleen, and pride. 110
 You have, by fortune and his highness' favours,
 Gone slightly o'er low steps, and now are mounted
 Where powers are your retainers, and your words,

98. *If he*] But if he Pope ; *If he then* Keightley ; *An if he* Anon. conj. 112.
slightly] *lightly* S. Walker conj. 113. *powers*] *towers* Jackson conj. ; *peers*
 Vaughan, reading *wards* for *words*. *your words*] *your wards* Keightley (Tyr-
 whitt conj.) ; *our lords* Mason conj. ; *proud lords* Anon. conj.

" I ne'er heard yet
 That any of these bolder vices
 wanted
 Less impudence to gainsay what
 they did
 Than to perform it first."

97. *worthily*] rightly, with good
 cause. Cf. *Comedy of Errors*, i. i. 100 :—
 " O, had the gods done so, I had
 not now

Worthily term'd them merciless
 to us."

99. *report*] a milder word than " ac-
 cusation." See *I Henry IV.* i. iii. 67 :
 " let not his report come current for an
 accusation." The sense is : I am, as
 the King knows, injured by your ac-
 cusation, and this, as he knows too, is
 false. " I am not of your wrong "
 means—I am not free from wrong in-
 flicted by you.

103. *in*] = in reference to, concern-
 ing, as in *All's Well that Ends Well*,
 i. i. 147 : " There's little can be said
 in 't " (Clarendon ed.).

108. *sign*] indicate, mark ; outwardly
 you have the meekness that should be
 seen in a Christian prelate.

112. *Gone . . . steps*] " Slightly " is

lightly, easily. Wolsey, born 1475 (?)
 became Dean of Lincoln and Almoner
 to Henry VIII., 1509 ; privy councillor,
 1511 ; Bishop of Lincoln and Arch-
 bishop of York, 1514 ; Cardinal and
 Lord Chancellor, 1515.

113. *powers*] Men of high rank or
 of great influence are your servants.
 Johnson explains " powers " as power :
 " Having now got power, you do not
 regard your word." M. Mason says :
 " By powers are meant the Emperor
 and the King of France, in the pay of
 the one or the other of whom Wolsey
 was constantly retained, but adds that
 it is well known that Wolsey enter-
 tained some of the nobility of Eng-
 land among his domestics and had an
 absolute power over the rest ; but
 ' powers ' clearly means, as Steevens
 notes, ' persons in whom power is
 lodged.' "

113. *words*] Tyrwhitt proposed *wards*,
 explaining : " The Queen rises natu-
 rally in her description. She paints
 the powers of government depending
 upon Wolsey under three images as
 his *retainers*, his *wards*, his *domestic*
servants," and Steevens cites Storer's

Domestics to you, serve your will as't please
 Yourself pronounce their office. I must tell you, 115
 You tender more your person's honour than
 Your high profession spiritual; that again
 I do refuse you for my judge, and here,
 Before you all, appeal unto the pope,
 To bring my whole cause 'fore his holiness, 120
 And to be judg'd by him.

[*She curtsies to the King, and offers to depart.*]

Cam. The queen is obstinate,
 Stubborn to justice, apt to accuse it, and
 Disdainful to be tried by 't: 'tis not well.
 She's going away.

King. Call her again. 125

Crier. Katharine Queen of England, come into the court.

Gent. Ush. Madam, you are call'd back.

Q. Kath. What need you note it? pray you, keep your way:
 When you are call'd, return. Now the Lord help!
 They vex me past my patience. Pray you, pass on: 130
 I will not tarry, no, nor ever more
 Upon this business my appearance make
 In any of their courts. [*Exeunt Queen and her Attendants.*]

King. Go thy ways, Kate:
 That man i' the world who shall report he has
 A better wife, let him in nought be trusted, 135
 For speaking false in that: thou art, alone,
 If thy rare qualities, sweet gentleness,
 Thy meekness saint-like, wife-like government,

129. *help*] *help me* Hudson (S. Walker conj.).

133. Scene VII. Pope.

Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey, a poem, 1599:—

"I must have notice where their
wards must dwell;

I car'd not for the gentry, for I had
 Yong nobles of the land."

etc. Vaughan, accepting *wards*, would read *peers* for *powers*, citing the following among other passages from Holinshed: "And now to returne to Cardinal Woolsie, who grew so into exceeding pride, that he thought himself equal with the King. For when he said masse (which he did oftener to shew his pompe than for any devotion) he made dukes and earles to serve him of wine," etc. Cf. "noble troops," III. ii. 411. His explanation is not that

powers were reduced to three grades of subjection, as Tyrwhitt thought, but that peers and wards, two classes of important persons, were reduced to retainers and domestics.

116. *tender*] treat tenderly, care for. Cf. *Comedy of Errors*, v. i. 132: "He shall not die; so much we tender him."

138. *government*] conduct, behaviour, as in *1 Henry IV.* I. ii. 31: "men of good government"; or perhaps stronger, self-control; see *ibid.* III. 1. 184:—

"Defect of manners, want of government,
 Pride, haughtiness, opinion and disdain."

Obeying in commanding, and thy parts
Sovereign and pious else, could speak thee out, 140
The queen of earthly queens. She's noble born,
And like her true nobility she has
Carried herself towards me.

Wol. Most gracious sir,
In humblest manner I require your highness,
That it shall please you to declare in hearing 145
Of all these ears—for where I am robb'd and bound,
There must I be unloos'd, although not there
At once and fully satisfied—whether ever I
Did broach this business to your highness, or
Laid any scruple in your way which might 150
Induce you to the question on't? or ever
Have to you, but with thanks to God for such
A royal lady, spake one the least word that might
Be to the prejudice of her present state
Or touch of her good person?

King. My lord cardinal, 155
I do excuse you; yea, upon mine honour,
I free you from't. You are not to be taught
That you have many enemies that know not
Why they are so, but, like to village curs,
Bark when their fellows do: by some of these 160
The queen is put in anger. You're excused:
But will you be more justified? you ever
Have wish'd the sleeping of this business, never
desir'd
It to be stirr'd, but oft have hinder'd, oft
The passages made toward it: on my honour, 165

140. *could*] *could but* Pope. 148. *At once*] *Atton'd* Hanmer (Warburton).
153. *spake one*] *spoke, or* Vaughan conj. *that*] omitted Capell. 163, 164.
desir'd It to be stirr'd] *Desir'd it stirr'd* Steevens conj.

140. *else*] besides, *i.e.* thy other noble and virtuous qualities.

140. *could speak thee out*] If your good qualities had tongues capable of describing you fully.

151. *on't*] of it.

153. *one the least*] the very least. See l. 48, *supra*; "one The wisest prince."

155. *touch*] injury; "touch" often means wound, as in *Richard II.* III. ii. 21: "a mortal touch". Word and meaning are from the French; Cotgrave has, "Touche . . . a hit, or

venie at fence"; "Toucher. To touch . . . to strike, hit."

164, 165. *oft have . . . toward it*] "Oft" is repeated for emphasis, *i.e.* Again and again you have opposed the opening of the questions. Steevens puts a semicolon after "hinder'd," and explains "made" as closed, or fastened, a sense for which he cites *Comedy of Errors*, III. i. 93: "Why at this time the doors are made against you." Cf. II. i. 86 note. With Steevens's pointing the meaning would be: You never

I speak my good lord cardinal to this point,
 And thus far clear him. Now, what mov'd me to 't,
 I will be bold with time and your attention:
 Then mark the inducement. Thus it came; give
 heed to 't:

My conscience first receiv'd a tenderness, 170
 Scruple, and prick, on certain speeches utter'd
 By the Bishop of Bayonne, then French ambassador;
 Who had been hither sent on the debating
 A marriage 'twixt the Duke of Orleans and
 Our daughter Mary: i' the progress of this business, 175
 Ere a determinate resolution, he,
 I mean the bishop, did require a respite,
 Wherein he might the king his lord advertise
 Whether our daughter were legitimate,
 Respecting this our marriage with the dowager, 180
 Sometimes our brother's wife. This respite shook
 The bosom of my conscience, enter'd me,

166. *peak . . . cardinal*] *peak, . . . cardinal*, Rowe (ed. 2). 167. *And . . . to 't*] So Pope; two lines in Ff. 174. A] Rowe (ed. 2); *And Ff.* 182. *bosom*] *bottom* Theobald, ed. 2 (Thirlby conj. from Holinshed).

desired this business to be stirred, but have often hindered it, often blocked the way that led to it.

166. *peak*] describe him as he is. See line 140, *supra*. Theobald, however, explains "that he speaks the Cardinal's sentiments upon the point in question; and clears him from any attempt or wish to stir that business" I understand "to this point" as well as "thus far" in the next line to refer to the point which the king has reached in his speech, opposed to "Now" which introduces a new topic. "So far I have been defending the Cardinal, now I shall give the real facts."

170-184. *My . . . breast*] See Holinshed, iii. 738: "The speciall cause that mooved me unto this matter, was a certeine scrupulositie that pricked my conscience, upon certeine words spoken at a time when it was, by the bishop of Baion the French ambassador, who had benee hither sent, upon the debating of a marriage to be concluded betweene our daughter the ladie Marie, and the duke of Orleance, second son to the King of France.

"Upon the resolution and determination whereof, he desired respite to

advertise the King his maister thereof, whether our daughter Marie should be legitimate in respect of this my marriage with this woman, being sometime my brother's wife. Which words once conceived within the secret bottome of my conscience ingendered such a scrupulous doubt, that my conscience was incontinentlie accombered, vexed, and disquieted; whereby I thought my selfe to be greatlie in danger of God's indignation."

172. *Bishop of Bayonne*] Holinshed's mistake, copied from Cavendish (through Stow) for the Bishop of Tarbes. See note in Clarendon ed.

174. *Duke of Orleans*] second son of Francis I., whom he succeeded, as Henry II., in 1547.

176. *determinate resolution*] final decision.

181. *Sometimes*] formerly. See note in this series on *Merchant of Venice*, i. i. 163. The word is in Holinshed's account; see last extract.

182. *bosom*] Theobald, ed. 2, read *bottom*, a correction from Holinshed suggested by Dr. Thirlby. The extract quoted on l. 170 *seqq.* will show how

Yea, with a splitting power, and made to tremble
 The region of my breast; which forc'd such way
 That many maz'd considerings did throng 185
 And press'd in with this caution. First, methought
 I stood not in the smile of heaven, who had
 Commanded nature that my lady's womb,
 If it conceiv'd a male-child by me, should
 Do no more offices of life to 't than 190
 The grave does to the dead; for her male issue
 Or died where they were made, or shortly after
 'This world had air'd them: hence I took a thought,
 This was a judgement on me, that my kingdom,
 Well worthy the best heir o' the world, should not 195
 Be gladdened in 't by me: then follows that
 I weigh'd the danger which my realms stood in
 By this my issue's fail; and that gave to me
 Many a groaning throe. Thus hulling in
 The wild sea of my conscience, I did steer 200
 Toward this remedy whereupon we are
 Now present here together; that's to say,
 I meant to rectify my conscience, which
 I then did feel full sick and yet not well,
 By all the reverend fathers of the land 205
 And doctors learn'd. First I began in private
 With you, my Lord of Lincoln; you remember
 How under my oppression I did reek,
 When I first mov'd you.

Lin. Very well, my liege.

King. I have spoke long: be pleas'd yourself to say 210
 How far you satisfied me.

183. *splitting* *spitting* F 1. 196. [*gladdened in 't*] F 1; *glad in 't* Ff 2-4; *glad in one* Pope. 208. *reek*] *reel* Rowe.

closely in other respects the chronicle was followed here. The Clarendon ed. compares Fletcher, *Spanish Curate*, iv. iii.: " 'Twill purge the bottom of their consciences."

199. *hulling*] i.e. "Hull-to, or a-hull. With all sails furl'd and the helm lashed to leeward, leaving the waves to do their worst" (Dixon Kemp's *Manual of Yacht and Boat Sailing*, 10th ed. p. 574). The word occurs in *Twelfth Night*, i. v. 217; and *Richard III.* iv. iv. 438. Cf. Massinger, *A Very Woman*, v. v.: "Becalmd and hull'd so up & down twelve hours."

200. *I did steer*] A vessel "hulling" would have no way on, and therefore could not be steered, even if the helm were not lashed. Prof. Case suggests "hulling" may mean "after hulling."

204. *and yet not well*] i.e. and which [*viz.* my conscience] I do not yet feel well.

208. *reek*] For the meaning, perspire, Craig compares *Cymbeline*, i. iii. 3.

209. *mov'd you*] applied or appealed to you. Cf. *All's Well that Ends Well*, i. ii. 6:—

"The Florentine will move us
 For speedy aid."

- Lin.* So please your highness,
 The question did at first so stagger me,
 Bearing a state of mighty moment in 't
 And consequence of dread, that I committed
 The daring'st counsel which I had to doubt, 215
 And did entreat your highness to this course
 Which you are running here.
- King.* I then mov'd you,
 My Lord of Canterbury, and got your leave
 To make this present summons: unsolicited
 I left no reverend person in this court; 220
 But by particular consent proceeded
 Under your hands and seals: therefore, go on;
 For no dislike i' the world against the person
 Of the good queen, but the sharp thorny points
 Of my alleged reasons, drive this forward: 225
 Prove but our marriage lawful, by my life
 And kingly dignity, we are contented
 To wear our mortal state to come with her,
 Katharine our queen, before the primest creature
 That's paragon'd o' the world.
- Cam.* So please your highness, 230
 The queen being absent, 'tis a needful fitness
 That we adjourn this court till further day:
 Meanwhile must be an earnest motion
 Made to the queen, to call back her appeal
 She intends unto his holiness.
- King.* [*Aside*] I may perceive 235
 These cardinals trifle with me: I abhor
 This dilatory sloth and tricks of Rome.

225. *drive*] Pope; *drives* Ff. 230. *paragon'd o' the*] *paragon'd i' th'* Pope;
paragon o' th' Hanmer. 232. *till*] F 1; omitted F 2; *to a Ff* 3, 4; *to* Pope.
 235-240. *I . . . along*] marked as aside by Capell. 237. *This*] *The* Hanmer.

212-215. *The . . . doubt*] Prof. Case paraphrases: "I was so staggered by the momentous occasion and the consequences involved, that I distrusted the advice which I should have ventured on most boldly (or with most confidence), and entreated," etc. This must be right, if the counsel referred to was a counsel on the question of divorce, but it is just possible that it may have been a counsel on any or every subject—I doubted my strongest convictions, felt sure of nothing.

230. *paragon'd*] regarded or exhibited as a paragon, which Cotgrave explains

as a "peerelesse one; the perfection or flower of; the most complete, most absolute, most excellent peece in any kind whatsoever; hence also, a Pat-terne, or Touchstone whereby the goodness of things is tryed." This last was the earlier sense, and from the manner of using a touchstone arose the meanings compare, excel. Prof. Case refers to *Othello*, II. i. 62, and *Antony and Cleopatra*, I. v. 70.

235-237. *I . . . Rome*] See Holinshed, iii. 740: "This protracting of the conclusion of the matter, King Henrie tooke verie displeasantlie."

My learn'd and well-beloved servant, Cranmer,
 Prithee, return ; with thy approach, I know,
 My comfort comes along.—Break up the court : 240
 I say, set on. [*Exeunt in manner as they entered.*]

238. *Cranmer*] Johnson inserted at mer," but as Ridley notes the King's
 l. 235 the stage direction : " They rise words are " no more than an apos-
 to depart. The King speaks to Cran- trophe to the absent bishop."

ACT III

SCENE I.—*London. The Queen's apartments.**The QUEEN and her Women as at work.*

Q. Kath. Take thy lute, wench : my soul grows sad with troubles ;

Sing, and disperse 'em, if thou canst : leave working.

SONG.

Orpheus with his lute made trees,
 And the mountain tops that freeze,
 Bow themselves when he did sing : 5
 To his music plants and flowers
 Ever sprung, as sun and showers
 There had made a lasting spring.

The Queen's apartments] Theobald. The Queen . . .] Enter Queen Ff 1, 2 ;
 Enter Queen . . . woman . . . Ff 3, 4. 1. *Take . . . troubles*] So Pope ;
 two lines in Ff. 7. *sprung*] *spring* Ff 2-4 ; *rose* Pope.

Act III. Scene 1.] By Fletcher (Spedding and Boyle).

Scene 1.] While the court was held at Black Friars the king and queen occupied separate apartments in the palace at Bridewell. One day, according to Cavendish, the king sent for Wolsey and talked with him from 11 A.M. till after twelve. On the way back the Bishop of Carlisle wiping the sweat from his face said to Wolsey : "Sir, it is a very hot day." "Yea," quoth my Lord Cardinal, "if ye had been as well chafed as I have been within this hour, ye would say it were very hot." Once at home, "he went incontinent to his naked bed." In less than two hours the Earl of Wiltshire came with a message from the king. Wolsey got up, called at Bath Place for Campeggio, and together they went to Bridewell and asked for the queen. "She came out of her privy chamber with a skein of white [red, ed. 2] thread

about her neck into the chamber of presence, where the cardinals were giving of attendance upon her coming."

1. *Take . . .*] A passage in Tennyson's *Queen Mary* (v. ii.) seems a reminiscence of the opening of this scene combined with iv. ii. 94-98, *infra*.

3. *Song*] Written, I think, by Fletcher. Prof. Victor of Marburg states (*Shaks. Phon.* p. 42) that as a Shaksperian rime play—*sea* (ll. 9, 10) must be pronounced suspicious. The substance of the song is found in blank verse in Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Captain*, III. i. :—

"Music,

Such as old Orpheus made, that
 gave a soul
 To aged mountains, and made
 rugged beasts
 Lay by their rages ; and tall trees
 that knew
 No sound but tempests, to bow
 down their branches

Every thing that heard him play,
 Even the billows of the sea, 10
 Hung their heads, and then lay by.
 In sweet music is such art,
 Killing care and grief of heart
 Fall asleep, or hearing die.

Enter a Gentleman.

Q. Kath. How now! 15

Gent. An't please your grace, the two great cardinals
 Wait in the presence.

Q. Kath. Would they speak with me?

Gent. They will'd me say so, madam.

Q. Kath. Pray their graces
 To come near. [*Exit Gent.*] What can be their business
 With me, a poor weak woman, fall'n from favour? 20
 I do not like their coming. Now I think on't,
 They should be good men, their affairs as righteous:
 But all hoods make not monks.

13. *heart*] Hanmer; *heart*, Ff. 16. *An't*] Hanmer; *And't* Ff. 21.
coming. Now . . . on't] Rowe (ed. 2); *coming; now . . . on't* Ff.; *coming,*
now . . . on't. Capell.

And hear, and wonder; and the
 Sea, whose surges
 Shook their white heads in Heaven,
 to be as mid-night
 Still, and attentive."

11. *lay by*] rested; but the earliest
 example of this sense in *New Eng. Dict.*
 is 1709. In the parallel passage cited
 in the previous note, the sense is active.

13. *Killing*] Except in *Henry V.* iii.
 ii. 36, "a killing tongue and a quiet
 sword," not strictly parallel, "killing"
 is not found as an epithet in Shake-
 speare's genuine work. It occurs below,
 iii. ii. 355 (a killing frost) and in *Titus*
Andronicus, ii. iii. 175 (killing lust).

17. *presence*] reception-room, chamber
 of audience. See extract from Caven-
 dish (note on scene i.); and Rowley,
When you see me, you know me (ed.
 Elze, p. 9):—

"I must entreat your grace,
 That with your favour I may leave
 the presence;

I cannot stay to hear his embas-
 sage";

ibid. p. 11: "Command the fool out of
 the presence"—"I'll not out of the
 room." Steevens has a good example

from Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman*:
 "The Lady Anne of Bretaine, passing
 thorow the presence in the court of
 France," etc.

18-22.] The change in Katharine's
 character is better explained by the
 fact that this scene is Fletcher's than
 by her fall from favour. Otherwise, I
 should prefer Capell's pointing of l. 21,
 a comma at *coming*, a full stop at *on't*.
 Where Wolsey is concerned, to think
 is to suspect. But as in Fletcher's
 hands she has become full of words
 and weak impulses, talking before she
 knows her own mind, the text may be
 right. If so, the words "Now I think
 on't," i.e. on second thoughts, indicate
 a half-hearted attempt to persuade her-
 self that no cardinal would come for a
 bad purpose. Cf. 2 Samuel xvii. 27:
 "And the king said, He is a good man
 and cometh with good tidings." Of
 course this is not in keeping with ii. iv.
 75-84.

23. *But . . . monks*] *Cucullus non*
facit monachum (Steevens). The Latin
 is found in *Measure for Measure*, v. i.
 263, and *Twelfth Night*, i. v. 62
 (Clarendon ed.). Grey cites the con-

Enter the two Cardinals, WOLSEY and CAMPEIUS.

Wol.

Peace to your highness!

Q. Kath. Your graces find me here part of a housewife;

I would be all, against the worst may happen. 25

What are your pleasures with me, reverend lords?

Wol. May it please you, noble madam, to withdraw

Into your private chamber, we shall give you

The full cause of our coming.

Q. Kath.

Speak it here;

There's nothing I have done yet, o' my conscience, 30

Deserves a corner: would all other women

Could speak this with as free a soul as I do!

My lords, I care not, so much I am happy

Above a number, if my actions

Were tried by every tongue, every eye saw 'em, 35

Envy and base opinion set against 'em,

I know my life so even. If your business

25. *I . . . all, against*] Cam. Edd.; (*I . . . all*) *against* Ff.; *I . . . all against*] Johnson. 26. *reverend*] *reuerent* F 1. 37, 38. *If . . . Seek*] *If 'tis your business To seek* Blackstone conj.

tinuation of Chaucer's *Romaunt of the Rose*, 6192-6194:—

"Habit ne maketh monk ne frere,

But clene lyf and devocioun

Maketh gode men of religioun,"

with which Skeat compares Alex. de Neckam:—

"Non tonsura facit monachum, nec horrida vestis,

Sed virtus animi, perpetuusque rigor."

24, 25. *Your . . . happen*] "Part of a housewife" refers to her being engaged in embroidery; "I would be all," i.e. a complete housewife, in case I am divorced and obliged to earn my own living—a jesting exaggeration of the dangers before her.

31. *corner*] secrecy. The meaning survives in the phrase "hole and corner." See note on *Merchant of Venice*, III. v. 30, in this series.

36. *Envy . . . opinion*] Malice and low gossip.

37-39. *If . . . boldly*] The passage is obscure, and unrhymical, and *out*, l. 39, clashes with the same word in the previous line, whereas we might expect it to be repeated for emphasis. Tyrwhitt conjectured: "If your business Seek me, *speake* out, and that way I am *wise* in"; i.e. in the way that I

can understand it. Mason approved of this reading, but explained it: "If your business relates to me or to anything of which I have any knowledge." I would suggest a modification of Tyrwhitt, viz.: "If your business Seek me, speak out; and that way I am wise in, Out with it boldly!" "Speak out" and "Out with it" repeat the "Speak it here" of l. 29; and the sense is—"If your business is with me, speak openly, openly describe my conduct as a wife"; sc. that conduct on which presumably the proceedings for divorce are based. Vaughan adheres to the text and interprets: "I know my life to be so proper, that if your business be that of a personal enquiry into myself and my course of conduct as a wife—out with it boldly." He does not consider l. 38 defective in metre because, as he has often observed, "'way' may be dissyllabically pronounced." But a metrical (rather, rhythmical, here) defect is not remedied by making nine syllables ten; the emendation should fit the line for its place, not leave it ashamed to be seen among its more respectable neighbours. Pope's reading "*Do seek me out*" is fairly satisfactory, but leaves "*out*" in undue prominence. "*Do seek out me*" would be better;

Seek me out, and that way I am wife in,
Out with it boldly : truth loves open dealing.

Wol. Tanta est erga te mentis integritas, regina seren- 40
issima,—

Q. Kath. O, good my lord, no Latin ;
I am not such a truant since my coming,
As not to know the language I have liv'd in :
A strange tongue makes my cause more strange,
suspicious ; 45
Pray speak in English : here are some will thank you,
If you speak truth, for their poor mistress' sake ;
Believe me, she has had much wrong : lord cardinal,
The willing'st sin I ever yet committed
May be absolv'd in English.

Wol. Noble lady, 50
I am sorry my integrity should breed,
And service to his majesty and you,
So deep suspicion, where all faith was meant.

38. *Seek . . . in*] *Seek me, speak out, and . . . wise in* Tyrwhitt conj. ; *In that way I am wise in, seek me out* : Mitford conj. 38. *Seek*] *Do seek* Pope ; *Doth seek* Ritson conj. *wife*] *wise* Rowe. 45. *strange, suspicious*] Hyphened by Dyce (ed. 2, S. Walker conj.). 52, 53. *And . . . meant*] These two lines are transposed by Singer, ed. 2 (Edwards conj.).

and this position of "not" is quite common. Ritson's conjecture, "Doth seek," is not so good ; the subjunctive was still in use with "if."

40. *Tanta . . . serenissima*] Caven-dish, who was present, says : "Then began my lord to speak to her in Latin." "Nay good my lord," quoth she, "speak to me in English ; although I understand Latin." He does not give the Latin words. *Meae* (or *nostrae*) seems to have slipped out before *erga*, see l. 51. Capell would have rejected this conjecture on metrical grounds. He thought the Latin of the text "a full and perfect heroic, as we measure them, and a hemistick of three feet," the last two syllables of *integritas* and of *serenissima* "do not," he says, "enter into the scansion. All things are possible to him who scans with his fingers."

45. *more strange, suspicious*] The Clarendon ed. says : "This is the punctuation of the folios, and seems to indicate a climax. The employment of a foreign tongue made the Queen's cause appear more strange, even suspicious. No hint of suspicion had

hitherto attached to her conduct." Dyce reads *strange-suspicious* in the sense "all the more a Medley of the strange and the suspicious." Vaughan omitted the comma, explaining "more strange suspicious" as more strangely suspicious, extraordinarily suspicious." It seems to me that the Queen's cause and her conduct are different things, and that the real question is "more strange than what?" Is the cause made stranger than it was before, or stranger than the tongue in which Wolsey would hide it from the general. Fletcher is not so much expressing a thought as balancing and varying his expression in his own rhetorical fashion. The meaning may be—the use of a strange tongue excites suspicion, and to discuss my case with ostentatious secrecy, as if I had done something not to be mentioned in decent English, will make it appear more suspiciously mysterious than the strange tongue itself.

49. *willing'st*] most deliberate or pre-meditated.

52, 53. *And . . . meant*] Singer (ed. 2) adopted Edwards's ingenious conjec-

We come not by the way of accusation,
 To taint that honour every good tongue blesses, 55
 Nor to betray you any way to sorrow—
 You have too much, good lady—but to know
 How you stand minded in the weighty difference
 Between the king and you, and to deliver,
 Like free and honest men, our just opinions 60
 And comforts to your cause.

Cam. Most honour'd madam,
 My Lord of York, out of his noble nature,
 Zeal and obedience he still bore your grace,
 Forgetting, like a good man, your late censure
 Both of his truth and him, which was too far, 65
 Offers, as I do, in a sign of peace,
 His service and his counsel.

Q. Kath. [*Aside*] To betray me.—
 My lords, I thank you both for your good wills;
 Ye speak like honest men; pray God, ye prove so!
 But how to make ye suddenly an answer, 70
 In such a point of weight, so near mine honour,
 More near my life, I fear, with my weak wit,
 And to such men of gravity and learning,
 In truth, I know not. I was set at work
 Among my maids, full little, God knows, looking 75
 Either for such men or such business.
 For her sake that I have been—for I feel
 The last fit of my greatness—good your graces,

61. *your*] *our* F 1.

ture that these lines should change places. It is perhaps better to take integrity and service as a zeugma—my honest endeavour to be of use.

58. *difference*] See 1. i. 101, and note.

65. *was too far*] We now say "went too far." See 1. i. 38.

66. *in a sign*] as a sign, in sign (Clarendon ed.).

72. *wit*] understanding, intelligence, as often.

74. *set*] sitting. So Cavendish, p. 228: "I was set among my maidens at work, thinking full little of any such matter, wherein there needeth a longer deliberation and a better head than mine, to make answer to such noble wise men as ye be." For "set," cf. Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Captain*, iv. iv. :—

"though I am set
 Now thus far off you, yet four
 glasses hence
 I will sit here";

Laws of Caudy, v. i. :—

"Two hours and more Sir,
 The Senate hath been set."—

"And I not know it?
 Who sits with them?"

See also *Venus and Adonis*, l. 18, and note in this series.

78. *fit*] Schmidt places this under the heading, "any irregular and violent affection of the mind." If it could be taken in the sense of canto or part of a poem, there are analogous expressions from a drama or a book, e.g. the last scene, the last page of one's life, but it is probably better to explain it as a brief space, the last hour of my great-

Let me have time and counsel for my cause :

Alas, I am a woman, friendless, hopeless! 80

Wol. Madam, you wrong the king's love with these fears :

Your hopes and friends are infinite.

Q. Kath.

In England

But little for my profit : can you think, lords,

That any Englishman dare give me counsel ?

Or be a known friend, 'gainst his highness' pleasure— 85

Though he be grown so desperate to be honest—

And live a subject ? Nay, forsooth, my friends,

They that must weigh out my afflictions,

They that my trust must grow to, live not here :

They are, as all my other comforts, far hence 90

In mine own country, lords.

Cam.

I would your grace

Would leave your griefs, and take my counsel.

Q. Kath.

How, sir ?

Cam. Put your main cause into the king's protection ;

He's loving and most gracious : 'twill be much

Both for your honour better and your cause ; 95

For if the trial of the law o'ertake ye,

You'll part away disgrac'd.

81. *Madam,*] So Pope ; a separate line in Ff. 82. *England*] Johnson ;
England, Ff ; *England* ' Capell. 83. *profit* · *can*] *profit can* F 1. 86,
 87. *honest*—*And live*] *honest*, *And live* Vaughan conj.

ness. "Fit" in this sense is strictly the time a convulsion lasts, hence a short spell. Vaughan's conjecture *lost* for *last* can hardly be right.

82, 83. *In . . . profit*] "But" means only. If we could attach the words "in England" to Wolsey's speech, it would be a conjunction introducing the queen's objection. Capell put a note of exclamation after England, explaining "What! in England!—I may have some there; but they will do me but little good." See Cavendish, p. 228: "I had need of good counsel in this case which toucheth me so near; and for any counsel or friendship that I can find in England, [they] are nothing to my purpose or profit. Think you, I pray you, my Lords, will any Englishman counsellor be friendly unto me against the king's pleasure, they being his subjects?"

86. *so . . . honest*] so reckless of consequences as to venture to give me honest advice (Clarendon ed.). "Desperate" often means mad. See *Titus Andronicus*,

II. i. 40: "Are you so desperate grown to threaten your friends?" and *Timon of Athens*, III. iv. 105: "These debts may well be called desperate, for a madman owes them." Cf. *Hamlet*, IV. vii. 26.

88. *weigh out*] outweigh, Steevens, who compares "overcome" for "come over" in *Macbeth*, III. iv. III. Better examples would be "last out" for "outlast," *Measure for Measure*, II. i. 139, and "face out" for "outface," *Taming of the Shrew*, II. i. 291. Verplanck's explanation may be right: "deliberate upon, ponder over". Vaughan explaining "weigh" as rate highly, and "out" as completely, says: "'To weigh out my afflictions,' therefore signifies 'to appreciate my afflictions at that high rate of importance, and with that serious appreciation and sorrow, which belongs to them if fully estimated.'"

93. *main cause*] my most important case, a cause "which toucheth me so neere," as she says in Holinshed.

97. *part*] depart.

Wol.

He tells you rightly.

Q. Kath. Ye tell me what ye wish for both, my ruin :

Is this your Christian counsel ? out upon ye !

Heaven is above all yet ; there sits a judge . 100

That no king can corrupt.

Cam.

Your rage mistakes us.

Q. Kath. The more shame for ye : holy men I thought ye,

Upon my soul, two reverend cardinal virtues ;

But cardinal sins and hollow hearts I fear ye :

Mend 'em, for shame, my lords. Is this your comfort ? 105

The cordial that ye bring a wretched lady,

A woman lost among ye, laugh'd at, scorn'd ?

I will not wish ye half my miseries ;

I have more charity : but say, I warn'd ye ;

Take heed, for heaven's sake, take heed, lest at once 110

The burthen of my sorrows fall upon ye.

Wol. Madam, this is a mere distraction ;

You turn the good we offer into envy.

Q. Kath. Ye turn me into nothing : woe upon ye,

And all such false professors ! would you have me— 115

If you have any justice, any pity,

If ye be any thing but churchmen's habits—

Put my sick cause into his hands that hates me ?

Alas, has banish'd me his bed already,

His love, too long ago ! I am old, my lords, 120

And all the fellowship I hold now with him

Is only my obedience. What can happen

To me above this wretchedness ? all your studies

Make me a curse like this.

101. *rage*] *grace* Anon. conj.

omitted Vaughan conj.

he's Grant White.

104. *fear*] *find* Anon. conj.

119. *has*] *ha's* Ff; *h'as* Rowe; *he has* Capell;

124. *curse*] *cure* Vaughan conj.

101. *mistakes*] takes us for what we are not, misjudges, misinterprets. See note on i. i. 195, *ante*.

103. *cardinal virtues*] the essence of all good. The four cardinal or chief virtues were, according to the Schoolmen, justice, prudence, temperance, fortitude. Faith, hope, and charity were added later, possibly to match the seven deadly sins, the "cardinal sins" of the next line.

110. *at once*] Vaughan is almost certainly right in suggesting the omission of *at*. "Once" he explains as "some time or other"; it might bear the meaning "once for all." See note on i. ii. 82.

113. *envy*] malice, as in ii. i. 85.

117. *habits*] robes. See *The Romaunt of the Rose* cited in note on l. 23, *supra*.

119. *already*] "since the doubt was raised touching his marriage," says Holinshed, *i.e.* since the end of 1526.

120. *old*] She was forty-four, having been born on the 5th of December, 1485. The exact date of this interview is not given by Cavendish; it was in the summer of 1529.

123. *above*] beyond or worse than my present misery.

124. *Make . . . this*] *i.e.* another such, if they can; nothing the cardinals could do would distress her more than

Cam.

Your fears are worse.

Q. Kath. Have I liv'd thus long—let me speak myself, 125

Since virtue finds no friends—a wife, a true one?

.A woman, I dare say without vain-glory,

Never yet branded with suspicion?

Have I with all my full affections

Still met the king? lov'd him next heaven? obey'd

him?

130

Been, out of fondness, superstitious to him?

Almost forgot my prayers to content him?

And am I thus rewarded? 'tis not well, lords.

Bring me a constant woman to her husband,

One that ne'er dream'd a joy beyond his pleasure, 135

And to that woman, when she has done most,

Yet will I add an honour, a great patience.

Wol. Madam, you wander from the good we aim at.*Q. Kath.* My lord, I dare not make myself so guilty,

To give up willingly that noble title

140

Your master wed me to: nothing but death

Shall e'er divorce my dignities.

Wol.

Pray, hear me.

Q. Kath. Would I had never trod this English earth,

Or felt the flatteries that grow upon it!

Ye have angels' faces, but heaven knows your hearts. 145

138. *Madam . . . at]* So Rowe (ed. 2); two lines in Ff. 139. *My . . . guilty]* So Rowe (ed. 2); two lines in Fl.

the existing estrangement between her husband and herself. "Make" is imperative, a defiance; do your worst and I shall be no more miserable. The construction, common enough, is found again, l. 134, "Bring me," etc. Vaughan seems to take "make" as indicative; he proposes *cure for curse*, referring to "sick cause," l. 118, and comparing *Henry V.* i. ii., where he had already conjectured *cured for curst* (Q 1). "Cure" may, he suggests, mean treatment, as in the farrier's bill, "To curing a cow till she died, five shillings," or "physician," as in the present play, ii. ii. 76.

124. *Your fears are worse]* i.e. are "above this wretchedness."

125. *speak myself]* See note on ii. iv. 166.

126. *a wife, a true one]* A favourite form of Fletcher's, but the whole scene is his.

131. *Been . . . him]* idolised him. Cf.

Beaumont and Fletcher, *Queen of Corinth*, iii. ii.: "Poor superstitious idiot that I am, Give leave that I may lift my hands and love"; Massinger, *The Picture*, i. ii. :—

"And though she knows one glance from her fair eyes

Must make all gazers her idolators,

She is so sparing of their influence

That, to shun superstition in others,

She shoots her powerful beams only

at me."

See also note on "saint," *Merchant of Venice*, ii. vii. 40, in this series.

145. *Ye . . . hearts]* An allusion as Johnson guessed "to the old jingle of *Angli and Angeli*." St. Gregory hearing that certain English slaves were called "Angles" replied that they had "Angelic faces." See Baeda, *Hist. E.G. Angl.* ed. Moberly, p. 88: "Rursus ergo interrogavit, quod esset vocabulum gentis illius. Responsum est, quod Angli vocarentur. At ille,

What will become of me now, wretched lady!
 I am the most unhappy woman living.
 Alas, poor wenches, where are now your fortunes?
 Shipwreck'd upon a kingdom, where no pity,
 No friends, no hope; no kindred weep for me; 150
 Almost no grave allow'd me: like the lily,
 That once was mistress of the field and flourish'd,
 I'll hang my head and perish.

Wol.

If your grace
 Could but be brought to know our ends are honest,
 You 'ld feel more comfort: why should we, good lady, 155
 Upon what cause, wrong you? alas, our places,
 The way of our profession is against it:
 We are to cure such sorrows, not to sow 'em.
 For goodness' sake, consider what you do;
 How you may hurt yourself, ay, utterly 160
 Grow from the king's acquaintance, by this carriage.
 The hearts of princes kiss obedience,
 So much they love it; but to stubborn spirits
 They swell, and grow as terrible as storms.
 I know you have a gentle, noble temper, 165
 A soul as even as a calm: pray think us
 Those we profess, peace-makers, friends and servants.

Cam. Madam, you'll find it so. You wrong your virtues
 With these weak women's fears: a noble spirit,

149. *Shipwreck'd*] Theobald (ed. 2); *Shipwrack'd* Ff. 158. *cure*] ear
 Theobald. 168. *Madam . . . virtues*] So Pope; two lines in Ff.

'Bene,' inquit; 'nam et angelicam habent faciem, et tales angelorum in caelis decet esse coheredes.' " Steevens cites *The Arraignment of Paris*, 1584 (Peele, *Wks.* ed. Bullen, p. 69): "Her [Queen Elizabeth's] people are y-cleped Angeli, Or, if I miss, a letter is the most"; and Greene, *The Spanish Masquerado*, 1585 (*Wks.* ed. Grosart, vol. v. p. 1275): "England, a little Iland, where as S. Augustine [a mistake for Gregory the Great] saith, their [*sic*] be people with Angels faces, so the Inhabitantes have the courage and heartes of Lions." The antithesis of angels' faces and devils' hearts is frequently found in descriptions of women. Malone quotes Nashe's *Anatomie of Absurditie*, 1589 (Nashe, *Wks.* ed. McKerrow, vol. i. p. 13): "For my part I meane to suspende my sentence,

and to let an Author of late memorie be my speaker, who affirmeth that they carry Angels in their faces to entangle men and [are (?)] devils in their devices"; with which may be compared Gascoigne, *Steel Glas*, *Epilogus*, l. 6:—

"Behold (my lorde) what monsters muster here
 With Angels face, and harmefull helish harts."

161. *Grow . . . acquaintance*] become estranged. The opposite phrase is found in Herrick, ed. Gosse, ii. p. 264:—

"Or Damask Roses when they grow
 To sweet acquaintance there."

161. *carriage*] conduct.

164. *They . . . storms*] Malone compares a sentence in a letter of Essex to the Lord Keeper, 1598: "There is no

As yours was put into you, ever casts 170
 Such doubts, as false coin, from it. The king loves you ;
 Beware you lose it not : for us, if you please
 . To trust us in your business, we are ready
 To use our utmost studies in your service.

Q. Kath. Do what ye will, my lords : and pray forgive me, 175
 If I have us'd myself unmannerly ;
 You know I am a woman lacking wit
 To make a seemly answer to such persons.
 Pray do my service to his majesty :
 He has my heart yet, and shall have my prayers 180
 While I shall have my life. Come, reverend fathers,
 Bestow your counsels on me : she now begs,
 That little thought, when she set footing here,
 She should have bought her dignities so dear.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE II.—*Ante-chamber to the King's apartment.*

*Enter the DUKE OF NORFOLK, the DUKE OF SUFFOLK, the
 EARL OF SURREY, and the LORD CHAMBERLAIN.*

Nor. If you will now unite in your complaints
 And force them with a constancy, the cardinal
 Cannot stand under them : if you omit
 The offer of this time, I cannot promise
 But that you shall sustain more new disgraces, 5
 With these you bear already.

Sir. I am joyful
 To meet the least occasion that may give me

171. *king loves you*] *King's love's yours* Anon. conj. 172. *it not*] *him*
not Seymour conj. *you please*] *please you* Dyce, ed. 2 (S. Walker conj.).
 175. *Do . . . me*] So Rowe (ed. 2); two lines in Ff. Scene II.—Ante-
 chamber . . .] Theobald. 5. *more*] *more* Rowe.

tempest to the passionate indignation
 of a prince."

176. *us'd myself*] behaved, acted.
 Act III. Scene II.] ll. 1-203 by Shake-
 speare (Spedding), by Massinger
 (Boyle); ll. 203 to end by Fletcher
 (Spedding and Boyle).

2. *force*] enforce.

3. *omit*] neglect. Cf. 2 *Henry IV.* iv.
 iv. 27: "Thou dost neglect him,
 Thomas; . . . omit him not"; *The*
Tempest, i. ii. 183:—

"A most auspicious star

If now I court not but omit, my
 fortunes

Will ever after droop";
 and *Julius Caesar*, iv. iii. 220:—

"There is a tide, in the affairs of
 men . . .

Omitted, all the voyage of their life
 Is bound in shallows."

Such "sentences" were common, e.g.
 take time by the forelock, *occasio post*
tergum calva.

5. *more*] more numerous. Cf. ii. iii.
 91; v. i. 36.

Remembrance of my father-in-law, the duke,
To be reveng'd on him.

Suf. Which of the peers
Have unctemn'd gone by him, or at least . 10
Strangely neglected? when did he regard
The stamp of nobleness in any person
Out of himself?

Cham. My lords, you speak your pleasures :
What he deserves of you and me I know ;
What we can do to him, though now the time 15
Gives way to us, I much fear. If you cannot
Bar his access to the king, never attempt
Any thing on him ; for he hath a witchcraft
Over the king in 's tongue.

Nor. O, fear him not ;
His spell in that is out : the king hath found 20
Matter against him that for ever mars
The honey of his language. No, he 's settled,
Not to come off, in his displeasure.

Sur. Sir,
I should be glad to hear such news as this
Once every hour.

Nor. Believe it, this is true : 25
In the divorce his contrary proceedings
Are all unfolded ; wherein he appears
As I would wish mine enemy.

10. *or*] *not* Hanmer. *least*] *least not* Keightley. 13. *of*] *of 't* Hanmer
(Warburton). 23. *displeasure*] *high displeasure* Rowe ; *most high disp'l'a-*
sure Pope, omitting *Sir*.

8. *the duke*] *sc.* of Buckingham.

13. *Out of*] with the exception of.
Hanmer read *out of 't*, a conjecture of
Warburton's explained by its author
as : " When did he regard nobleness of
blood in another, having none of his
own to value himself upon ? " But
Johnson's explanation of the text is
better : " When did he, however careful
to carry his own dignity to the utmost
height, regard any dignity of an-
other ? "

15, 16. *the . . . us*] Circumstances
are favourable, give us an opening
or opportunity. Cf. *Julius Caesar*, II.
iii. 8 : " security gives way to con-
spiracy.

22, 23. *he 's . . . off*] As the Claren-
don ed. notes, " Not to come off " is.
not to escape if " he " in l. 22 is Wol-

sey ; but if " he " be the king, then
" to come off " would mean " to be re-
moved from it." The former explana-
tion seems the better.

26. *contrary proceedings*] Two inter-
pretations are possible : (1) acts adverse
to the divorce, (2) acts opposed to each
other, inconsistent. Johnson explains,
" private practices opposed to his
public procedure," and is followed in
the Clarendon ed. : " While Wolsey was
apparently favouring the divorce he
was secretly urging the Pope to stay
his judgment." See II. 30-35. In a
better constructed drama Wolsey would
not have appeared in one scene as the
king's advocate, and in the next as
disgraced for opposing him.

27. *unfolded*] related. Cf. *Midsummer*
Night's Dream, I. i. 208 : " to you

- Sur.* How came
His practices to light?
- Suf.* Most strangely.
- Sur.* O, how, how?
- Suf.* The cardinal's letters to the pope miscarried, 30
And came to the eye o' the king: wherein was read
How that the cardinal did entreat his holiness
To stay the judgement o' the divorce; for if
It did take place, "I do" quoth he "perceive
My king is tangled in affection to 35
A creature of the queen's, Lady Anne Bullen."
- Sur.* Has the king this?
- Suf.* Believe it.
- Sur.* Will this work?
- Cham.* The king in this perceives him, how he coasts

30. *letters*] *letter* Steevens.
Capell conj.

37. *Will . . . work ?*] *This will work.*

our minds we will unfold"; *Merchant of Venice*, II. ix. 10: "never to unfold to anyone Which casket 't was I chose."

29. *practices*] plots, crafty devices.
Cf. I. i. 204, *supra*.

30. *The . . . pope*] See Holinshed, vol. iii. p. 740: "The cardinall of Yorke was advised that the king had set his affection upon a yong gentlewoman named Anne, the daughter of Sir Thomas Bullen viscount Rochford, which did wait upon the queene. This was a great grieve unto the cardinall, as he that perceived aforehand, that the King would marie the said gentlewoman, if the divorce took place. Wherefore he began with all diligence to disappoint that match, which by reason of the misliking that he had to the woman he judged ought to be avoided more than present death. While the matter stood in this state, and that the cause of the queene was to be heard and judged at Rome, by reason of the appeal which by hir was put in: the cardinal required the pope by letters and secret messengers, that in anie wise he should defer the judgement of the divorce till he might frame the King's mind to his purpose.

"Howbeit he went about nothing so secretlie, but that the same came to the King's knowledge."

37. *Will . . . work ?*] Vaughan would give this to the Chamberlain, and the Chamberlain's speech that follows to Suffolk: "The Lord Chamberlain in his last speech has thrown cold water on the zeal of the Earls Norfolk, Surrey, and Suffolk, to attack Wolsey, saying: 'What we can do to him . . . I much fear.' That 'fear' however of the Lord Chamberlain has just been allayed through the news that Wolsey is found out by the King in his intrigues to thwart him concerning the divorce. Yet this discovery, by which Norfolk sought to reassure the Chamberlain, would appear by this speech to have been already in the Chamberlain's knowledge . . . Suffolk is the person whose position actually and through this play makes him the likely depository of knowledge about the king's feelings, which others could not so soon possess."

38, 39. *coasts and hedges*] pursues his own ends circuitously and secretly. The associations of "coast," to go by the side (Lat. *costa*) of e.g. an army, a river, the sea, suggest an indirect course. *New Eng. Dict.* gives no other example of the figurative use. With "hedges" compare a similar metaphor in Tennyson, one vol. ed. p. 887b, likewise of a churchman's path: "But creep along the hedge-bottoms, an' thou'll be a Bishop yit."

And hedges his own way. But in this point
 All his tricks founder, and he brings his physic 40
 After his patient's death: the king already
 Hath married the fair lady.

Sur. Would he had!

Suf. May you be happy in your wish, my lord!
 For, I profess, you have it.

Sur. Now, all my joy
 Trace the conjunction!

Suf. My amen to 't!

Nor. All men's! 45

Suf. There's order given for her coronation:
 Marry, this is yet but young, and may be left
 To some ears unrecounted. But, my lords,
 She is a gallant creature and complete
 In mind and feature: I persuade me, from her 50
 Will fall some blessing to this land, which shall
 In it be memoriz'd.

Sur. But will the king
 Digest this letter of the cardinal's?
 The lord forbid!

44. *all my joy*] *all joy* Pope; *may all joy* Collier (ed. 2 and MS.). 45.
Trace] *Grace* Clark MS. 54. *The lord forbid!*] Cham.; *The Lord forbid!*
S. Walker conj.

44. *all my joy*] all I feel at the news.
 The Clarendon ed. and Vaughan explain
 "all the joy that I can wish."

45. *Trace*] follow. Cf. Massinger,
Virgin Martyr, iv. iii.: "O, take me
 thither with you!"

"Trace my steps,
 And be assured you shall"
sc. go thither. Johnson compares *Mac-*
beth, iv. i. 153:—

"His wife, his babes, and all unfor-
 tunate souls
 That trace him in his line."

45. *conjunction*] union. Steevens
 quotes *Richard III.* v. v. 20:—

"We will unite the white rose and
 the red;
 Smile heaven upon this fair con-
 junction."

It is not necessarily, as some com-
 mentators imply, an astronomical term,
 for it is used in alchemy and in various
 non-technical senses, ranging from
 sympathy to marriage. See Beaumont
 and Fletcher, *Knight of Malta*, v. i.:—

"My mind doth kiss thy mind;
 And in this fair conjunction we
 enjoy"

etc. *New Eng. Dict.* cites Barnes,
Works (1573), 365/1: "Those Priestes
 that . . . hath not forsaken the conjunc-
 tion of marriage"; Fleming, *Contn.*
Holinshed (1587), iii. 1980/1: "Wish-
 ing by the conjunction of these two
 yoong princes, the uniting of the two
 kingdoms in perpetuall amitie."

47. *young*] not long in existence. In
Troilus and Cressida, i. iii. 312, "a
 young conception" = a new design.

52. *memoriz'd*] made memorable. Cf.
Macbeth, i. ii. 40: "Or memorize
 another Golgotha" (cited by Steevens).
 Vaughan says the passage is "sus-
 ceptible of two interpretations, 'I
 anticipate a blessing to the country,
 which blessing shall be remembered in
 the country,' or 'a blessing to the
 country, which country shall be re-
 nowned through such blessing'"; but
New Eng. Dict. does not recognise "re-
 member" as a meaning of "memorize."

53. *Digest*] bear with, fail to resent.
 Cf. *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 288:—

"it can never be
 They will digest this harsh in-
 dignity."

Nor.

Marry amen!

Suf.

No, no;

There be moe wasps that buzz about his nose 55

Will make this sting the sooner. Cardinal Campeius

Is stol'n away to Rome; hath ta'en no leave;

Has left the cause o' the king unhandled, and

Is posted as the agent of our cardinal,

To second all his plot. I do assure you 60

The king cried "Ha!" at this.

Cham.

Now God incense him

And let him cry "Ha!" louder!

Nor.

But, my lord,

When returns Cranmer?

Suf.

He is return'd in his opinions, which

Have satisfied the king for his divorce, 65

Together with all famous colleges

Almost in Christendom: shortly, I believe,

55. *moe*] *more* Pope. 58. *Has*] *Ha's* Ff; *Hath* Rowe (ed. 2). *o' the*
o' th' F 1; *to' th' or to th' Ff* 2-4. 64. *in his*] *with his* Rowe; *in wise*
 Vaughan conj. 66. *Together with all*] *Gather'd from all the* Rowe. *col-*
leges] *colleges'* Vaughan conj.

56, 57. *Cardinal . . . Rome*] See side-note in Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, v. 53: "Cardinal Campeius slippeth from the king." As a matter of fact, Campeius "made suit to be discharged" and took leave of the king at Grafton in Northamptonshire. See Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, pp. 236-239.

64-67. *He . . . Christendom*] There are two ambiguities in this passage. Does "in his opinions" mean with his opinions unchanged? or is the sense "his opinions have come, but not himself"? Again, is "colleges" a genitive plural—the apostrophe was formerly not used in such a case—meaning the opinions of colleges, or is the sense "have satisfied both the king and the colleges"? Steevens explains: "Cranmer is returned in his opinions, *i.e.* with the same sentiments which he entertained before he went abroad, which sentiments have satisfied the king together with all the famous colleges referred to on the occasion." He adds, however, that Tyrwhitt's view may be right, *viz.*, "He is returned in effect, having sent his opinions, *i.e.* the opinions of divines etc. collected by him." Vaughan paraphrases: "He has returned, bringing with him, in favour of divorce, the

opinions of learned men which he was commissioned to collect, and which, together with the answers of almost all the famous universities in Christendom, have satisfied the king." I prefer Tyrwhitt's explanation of "in his opinions." The expressions cited in support of his own view by Mr. Vaughan, *viz.*—a ship returns in ballast, a commercial traveller travels "in cutlery"—are not close enough to be conclusive. That Cranmer was in England at l. 400 (*q.v.*) is no proof that he was there at l. 64. Much had happened in the interval. For instance, the report that he was to be an archbishop had become an accomplished fact, and this report was current before his return, for Norfolk had heard it. Rowe cuts both knots, reading:—

"He is return'd *with* his opinions,
 which
 Have satisfied the king for his
 divorce,
Gather'd from all the famous
colleges
 Almost in Christendom."

But history is against him. Cranmer gathered the opinions of individual scholars. He was not sent to the universities; this was the mission of Stokesly and Fox. See Holinshed, iii.

His second marriage shall be publish'd, and
 Her coronation. Katharine no more
 Shall be call'd queen, but princess dowager 70
 And widow to Prince Arthur.

Nor. This same Cranmer's
 A worthy fellow, and hath ta'en much pain
 In the king's business.

Suf. He has; and we shall see him
 For it an archbishop.

Nor. So I hear.

Suf. 'Tis so.
 The cardinal!

Enter WOLSEY and CROMWELL.

Nor. Observe, observe, he's moody. 75

Wol. The packet, Cromwell,
 Gave't you the king?

Crom. To his own hand, in 's bedchamber.

Wol. Look'd he o' the inside of the paper?

Crom. Presently
 He did unseal them, and the first he view'd,
 He did it with a serious mind; a heed 80
 Was in his countenance. You he bade
 Attend him here this morning.

Wol. Is he ready
 To come abroad?

Crom. I think, by this he is.

Wol. Leave me awhile. [*Exit Cromwell*]
 [*Aside*] It shall be to the Duchess of Alençon, 85

78. *paper*] *papers* Keightley (Grey conj.). 81. *You*] *And you* Hanmer;
You, my lord, Capell; *You, sir*, Steevens conj. 82, 83. *Attend . . . is*] So
 Hanmer; three lines in Ff.

767: "the king . . . hath sent my lord of London [Stokesly] here present, to the chief universities of all christen-dome, to know their opinion and judgement in that behalfe."

68. *publish'd*] proclaimed. Cf. *King Lear*, iv. iv. 236: "a published traitor."

70. *princess dowager*] See Holinshed, iii. 777: "It was also enacted the same time [1533], that queene Katharine should no more be called queene, but princesse Dowager as the widow of prince Arthur."

72. *pain*] pains, which is the form in

v. i. 119. "Take pain" is not found elsewhere in Shakespeare.

78. *Presently*] instantly, without delay.

85. *Duchess of Alençon*] See Holinshed, iii. 736: "And therefore he [Wolsey] did not onlie procure the king of England to joine in freendship with the French king, but also sought a divorce betwixt the king and the queene, that the king might have had in marriage the duchesse of Alanson, sister unto the French king." Holinshed mentions this in connection with the events of 1528, but the time

The French king's sister : he shall marry her.

Anne Bullen ! No ; I'll no Anne Bullens for him :

There's more in 't than fair visage. Bullen !

• No, we'll no Bullens. Speedily I wish

To hear from Rome. The Marchioness of Pembroke !

90

Nor. He's discontented.

Suf. May be, he hears the king

Does whet his anger to him.

Sur. Sharp enough,

Lord, for thy justice !

Wol. [*Aside*] The late queen's gentlewoman, a knight's daughter,

To be her mistress' mistress ! the queen's queen ! 95

This candle burns not clear : 'tis I must snuff it ;

Then out it goes. What though I know her virtuous

And well deserving ? yet I know her for *

A spleeny Lutheran, and not wholesome to

Our cause, that she should lie i' the bosom of 100

Our hard-rul'd king. Again, there is sprung up

An heretic, an arch one, Cranmer, one

Hath crawl'd into the favour of the king,

And is his oracle.

Nor. He is vex'd at something.

Sur. I would 'twere something that would fret the string, 105

The master-cord on 's heart !

88. *There's more in 't*] *There is more in it* Malone. *Bullen !]* *Bullen !*
Bullen ! S. Walker conj. 94. *The . . . daughter*] So Pope ; two lines in Ff.
 102. *arch one*] Hyphened in Ff. 105. Scene III. Pope. 106. *on 's*] *of 's*
 Pope ; *of his* Steevens.

must have been 1526, between the death of Margaret of Valois' first husband the Duke of Alençon in 1525, and her marriage to Henry of Navarre in January, 1527.

89. *I wish . . .*] I hope to hear soon.

90. *Marchioness of Pembroke*] See II. iii. 63.

96. *This candle*] Staunton says : " There may be a play intended on the word *Bullen*, which is said to have been an ancient provincial name for a candle." Halliwell, *Dict.*, has : " Bullen, The stalks of hemp after they are piled." " If these," says the Clarendon ed., " were used for wicks, they might give their name to a candle."

99. *spleeny*] cf. 1 *Henry IV.* v. ii.

19 : " A hare-brain'd Hotspur govern'd by a spleen." See also " spleen," I. ii. 174 ; and II. iv. 89, *supra*.

101. *hard-rul'd*] hard to advise or guide. " Ruled " in the sense of advised is very common. See *Merry Wives of Windsor*, I. i. 72 : " I beseech you, be ruled by your well-willers " ; *King John*, II. i. 377 : " Your royal presences be ruled by me."

105, 106. *fret . . . heart*] gnaw through the chief sinew ; " master-cord " does not occur elsewhere, but Sidney uses " master-spring " in the sense of main-spring, and " master-vein " is found in the sense of chief artery.

106. *on 's*] of his, a very common use. For instances of *on* = modern " of," see Abbot, *Shakes. Grammar* 120.

Enter KING, reading of a schedule, and LOVELL.

Suf.

The king, the king !

King. What piles of wealth hath he accumulated
To his own portion ! and what expense by the hour
Seems to flow from him ! How, i' the name of thrift,
Does he rake this together ? Now, my lords, 110
Saw you the cardinal ?

Nor.

My lord, we have

Stood here observing him : some strange commotion
Is in his brain : he bites his lip, and starts ;
Stops on a sudden, looks upon the ground,
Then lays his finger on his temple ; straight 115
Springs out into fast gait ; then stops again,
Strikes his breast hard, and anon he casts
His eye against the moon : in most strange postures
We have seen him set himself.

King.

It may well be ;

There is a mutiny in 's mind. This morning 120
Papers of state he sent me to peruse,
As I requir'd : and wot you what I found
There, on my conscience, put unwittingly ?
Forsooth, an inventory, thus importing,

108. *and*] omitted Pope. 117. *Strikes*] *And strikes* Keightley. *hard*,
and] *hard and oft* ; Lettsom conj. ; *hard and then* Rowe (ed. 2). 119. *be*] *be*
S. Walker conj. 123. *There . . . unwittingly ?* Capell ; *There, on my con-*
science put unwittingly ? Rowe ; *There (on . . . unwittingly) Ff.*

120. *mutiny*] A metaphor common
in plays of the time, e.g. *Julius*
Cæsar, i. ii. 63-69 :—

“ the state of man
Like to a little kingdom suffers
then

The nature of an insurrection.”

124. *an inventory*] Steevens points
out that a mistake made by Thomas
Ruthall, Bishop of Durham, is here at-
tributed to Wolsey. See Holinshed, iii.
540, 541 : “ To whome [Ruthall] . . .
the king gave in charge to write a
booke of the whole estate of the king-
dome, because he was knowne to the
king to be a man of sufficiency for the
discharge thereof, which he did accord-
inglie. Afterwards, the king com-
manded cardinall Wolseie to go to
this bishop, and to bring the booke
awaie with him to deliver to his majestie.
But see the mishap ! that a man in all
other things so provident, should now be
so negligent : and at that time most for-
get himself, . . . (as it after fell out)

he had most need to have remembred
himself. For this bishop having
written two bookes (the one to answer
the kings command, and the other in-
treatring of his owne private affaires) did
bind them both after one sort in vellame,
just of one length, bredth, and thick-
nesse, and in all points in such like pro-
portion answering one another, as the
one could not by anie especiall note
be discerned from the other : both of
which he also laid up together in one
place of his studie. Now when the
cardinall came to demand the booke
due to the king : the bishop unadvised-
lie commanded his servant to bring him
the booke bound in white vellame lieng
in his studie in such a place. The
servant dooing accordinglie, brought
forth one of those bookes so bound,
being the booke intreatring of the state
of the bishop, and delivered the same
unto his maister, who receiving it
(without further consideration or look-
ing on) gave it to the cardinall to beare

The several parcels of his plate, his treasure, 125
 Rich stuffs, and ornaments of household, which
 I find at such proud rate that it out-speaks
 Possession of a subject.

Nor. It's heaven's will :
 Some spirit put this paper in the packet,
 To bless your eye withal.

King. If we did think 130
 His contemplation were above the earth,
 And fix'd on spiritual object, he should still
 Dwell in his musings : but I am afraid
 His thinkings are below the moon, not worth
 His serious considering.

[*King takes his seat ; whispers Lovell, who goes
 to the Cardinal.*]

Wol. Heaven forgive me ! 135
 Ever God bless your highness !

King. Good my lord,
 You are full of heavenly stuff, and bear the inventory
 Of your best graces in your mind ; the which
 You were now running o'er : you have scarce time
 To steal from spiritual leisure a brief span 140
 To keep your earthly audit : sure, in that
 I deem you an ill husband, and am glad
 To have you therein my companion.

131. *contemplation*] *contemplations* Ff 2-4. 132. *object*] *objects* F 4. 134.
not] *nor* Ff 3, 4. 140. *leisure*] *labour* Collier MS.

unto the king. The cardinall having the booke, went from the bishop, and after (in his studie by himselfe) understanding the contents thereof, he greatly rejoised, having now occasion (which he long sought for) offered unto him to bring the bishop into the kings disgrace. Wherefore he went forthwith to the king, delivered the booke into his hands, and breefly informed the king of the contents thereof; putting further into the kings head, that if at anie time he were destitute of a masse of monie, he should not need to seeke further therefore than to the cofers of the bishop, who by the tenor of his owne booke had accompted his proper riches and substance to the value of a hundred thousand pounds. Of all which when the bishop had intelligence (what he had doon, how the cardinall used him, what the king said, and what the world reported of him) he was

stricken with such greefe of the same that he shortlie through extreame sorrow ended his life at London, in the yeare of Christ 1523."

124. *thus importing*] giving the following information. See *New Eng. Dict.* Import, v. 5c.

125. *parcels*] parts, divisions.

127, 128. *I . . . subject*] I find his possessions are on a greater scale than is fitting for a subject. "Out speaks" is figurative for "exceeds." The Clarendon ed. explains: "it describes what is too great for a subject to possess."

130. *withal*] = with, when a substantive does not follow as object.

140. *spiritual leisure*] the time not occupied in temporal affairs, and therefore assignable to spiritual; "when thou hast leisure," says Parolles, "say thy prayers."

142. *ill husband*] a bad economist or manager. Cf. *Measure for Measure*,

Wol.

Sir,

For holy offices I have a time ; a time
 To think upon the part of business which 145
 I bear i' the state ; and nature does require
 Her times of preservation, which perforce
 I, her frail son, amongst my brethren mortal,
 Must give my tendance to.

King. You have said well.

Wol. And ever may your highness yoke together, 150
 As I will lend you cause, my doing well
 With my well saying !

King. 'Tis well said again ;
 And 'tis a kind of good deed to say well :
 And yet words are no deeds. My father lov'd you :
 He said he did, and with his deed did crown 155
 His word upon you. Since I had my office,
 I have kept you next my heart ; have not alone
 Employ'd you where high profits might come home,
 But par'd my present havings, to bestow
 My bounties upon you.

Wol. [*Aside*] What should this mean ? 160Sur. [*Aside*] The Lord increase this business !

King. Have I not made you

145. *which*] omitted Pope, reading *a time . . . business* as one line. 154.
no] not Wordsworth.

III. ii. 73 : " You will turn good husband now, Pompey ; you will keep the house." Wolsey's two offences were (1) heaping up riches (mocked at in ll. 137-141) and opposing the king's marriage with Anne. " You think me a bad husband in neglecting Katharine, but *Arcades sumus ambo*, you are a bad husband in neglecting your estate."

144. *For . . . time*] See Cavendish's account of how Wolsey spent his days in term time, *Life of Wolsey*, p. 105 : " First, before his coming out of his privy Chamber, he heard most commonly every day two masses in his privy closet ; and there then said his daily service with his chaplain : and as I heard his chaplain say, being a man of credence and of excellent learning, that the cardinal, what business or weighty matters soever he had in the day, he never went to his bed with any part of his daily service unsaid, yea not so much as one collect ; wherein

I doubt not he deceived the opinion of many persons," etc. Quoted in Clarendon ed.

148. *amongst . . . mortal*] i.e. like other men.

149. *tendance*] attention. Cf. *Cymbeline*, v. v. 53 :—

" she purposed
 By watching, weeping, tendance,
 kissing, to
 O'ercome you with her show."

155. *crown*] complete. Cf. *The Tempest*, III. i. 69 :—

" And crown what I profess with
 kind event,
 If I speak true."

Johnson compares *Macbeth*, IV. i. 149 :
 " To crown my thoughts with acts."

159. *havings*] income or property ; elsewhere in Shakespeare only the singular form is found, as in *Othello*, IV. iii. 92 :—

" Or say they strike us,
 Or scant our having in despite."

The prime man of the state? I pray you, tell me,
If what I now pronounce you have found true :

And, if you may confess it, say withal,

. If you are bound to us or no. What say you? 165

Wol. My sovereign, I confess your royal graces,
Shower'd on me daily, have been more than could
My studied purposes requite ; which went
Beyond all man's endeavours : my endeavours
Have ever come too short of my desires, 170
Yet fil'd with my abilities : mine own ends
Have been mine so that evermore they pointed
To the good of your most sacred person and
The profit of the state. For your great graces
Heap'd upon me, poor undeserver, I 175
Can nothing render but allegiant thanks,
My prayers to heaven for you, my loyalty,
Which ever has and ever shall be growing,
Till death, that winter, kill it.

King. Fairly answer'd ;
A loyal and obedient subject is 180
Therein illustrated : the honour of it
Does pay the act of it ; as i' the contrary,
The foulness is the punishment. I presume
That, as my hand has open'd bounty to you,
My heart dropp'd love, my power rain'd honour, more 185
On you than any ; so your hand and heart,
Your brain and every function of your power,

169. *endeavours*] *ambition* Hanmer. 171. *fil'd*] Hanmer ; *fill'd* Ff. 172.
mine] omitted Pope, reading *Ends* . . . *pointed* as one line.

162. *prime*] most important, chief.
Cf. *The Tempest*, i. ii. 425 : "My prime
request which I do last pronounce."
So "primer" is more important, *supra*,
i. ii. 67.

168. *which*] It seems better to refer
this, with Johnson, to "studied pur-
poses" than, with Malone, to "royal
graces." Wolsey says, "Your royal
graces are greater than my studied
purposes (the 'desires' of l. 170), my
studied purposes are greater than my
attempts to fulfil them ; but my at-
tempts are equal to my abilities."

171. *fil'd*] Here apparently in the
sense of "ranked." My endeavours,
though inferior to what I could have
wished, have been equal to (strictly,
have kept step with) my powers.

176. *allegiant*] the thanks of a

faithful subject ; loyal thanks. No
other early use of the word is
known.

181. *Therein illustrated*] Described
in your answer, a meaning not found
elsewhere. A more usual sense is
"exemplified."

181-190. *the honour . . . any*] The
general sense is—you are merely an
unprofitable servant if you have done
your duty and no more. The credit of
being a loyal subject is recompense
enough for being one. You would have
been disgraced by being disloyal.
Virtue is its own reward as vice is its
own punishment ; but as you have re-
ceived from me other rewards (*viz.*
bounty, love, honour), your feeling
towards me should be stronger than
that of the ordinary loy. subj.

Should, notwithstanding that your bond of duty,
As 'twere in love's particular, be more
To me, your friend, than any.

Wol. I do profess 190

That for your highness' good I ever labour'd
More than mine own; that am, have, and will be—
Though all the world should crack their duty to you,
And throw it from their soul; though perils did
Abound, as thick as thought could make 'em, and 195
Appear in forms more horrid—yet my duty,
As doth a rock against the chiding flood,
Should the approach of this wild river break,
And stand unshaken yours.

King. 'Tis nobly spoken.

Take notice, lords, he has a loyal breast, 200
For you have seen him open 't. [*Giving him papers.*]

Read o'er this;

And after, this: and then to breakfast with
What appetite you have.

[*Exit King, frowning upon the Cardinal: the nobles
throng after him, smiling and whispering.*]

Wol. What should this mean?

What sudden anger's this? how have I reap'd it?
He parted frowning from me, as if ruin 205
Leap'd from his eyes. So looks the chafed lion
Upon the daring huntsman that has gall'd him;
Then makes him nothing. I must read this paper;
I fear, the story of his anger. 'Tis so;

190. *do*] omitted Pope. 192. *that . . . be*] *that am I, have been, and will be* Rowe; *that am I, have been, will be* Pope; *that I am, have been and shall be* Seymour conj.; *that aim, has, and will be* Jackson conj.; *that aim I have and will* [subst.] Knight conj. For many others see Cam. Shaks. 193. *crack*] *lack* Singer conj. 202. *after, this*] Theobald; *after this* Ff. 203. *have*] *may* Rowe. 203. Scene iv. Pope. 204. *reap'd*] *rous'd* Keightley. 209. *fear, the*] *fear the* Ff.

188. *notwithstanding*] evidently, as Schmidt (after Johnson) explains, "over and above, besides, abstractedly from"; but I know of no parallel.

189. *As . . . particular*] as it ought to be in the special case of individual obligation; your sovereign has been your friend also. Loyalty is the duty of all subjects, yourself among them, but from you in particular, gratitude as well as loyalty is due.

192. *am, have, and will be*] "have" is "have been," sc. unshaken yours, as in l. 178 "~~has~~" is "has been." The

emendations proposed (see critical notes) get rid of the signs of the speaker's emotion, viz. the parenthesis 193-196, "Though . . . horrid," and the aposiopesis which substitutes "my duty" in l. 196, as subject of "should break" and "should stand" for the "that" of l. 192.

207. *gall'd*] wounded; so "ungalled" is opposed to "stricken," in *Hamlet*, III. ii. 283. So a lion enraged by a wound looks at his wounder and instantly annihilates him.

This paper has undone me: 'tis the account 210

Of all that world of wealth I have drawn together

For mine own ends; indeed, to gain the popedom,

And fee my friends in Rome. O negligence!

Fit for a fool to fall by: what cross devil

Made me put this main secret in the packet 215

I sent the king? Is there no way to cure this?

No new device to beat this from his brains?

I know 'twill stir him strongly; yet I know

A way, if it take right, in spite of fortune

Will bring me off again. What's this? "To the

Pope!" 220

The letter, as I live, with all the business

I writ to's holiness. Nay then, farewell!

✓ I have touch'd the highest point of all my greatness;

And, from that full meridian of my glory,

I haste now to my setting: I shall fall 225

Like a bright exhalation in the evening,

✓ And no man see me more.

211. *world of wealth*] great wealth.
Cf. the equally common use of "sea"
for a vast quantity.

214. *cross*] thwarting.

215. *main*] great or important. See
Beaumont and Fletcher, *Mad Lover*,
III. i.: "'Tis a main work and full of
fear"; *False One*, IV. i.: "Your sister
he ne're gaz'd on; that's a main
note"; *Wild-Goose Chase*, V. II.:
"Her brother had a main state," i.e.
a large property; *Maid in the Mill*,
III. i.: "so main a person, A man
of so much noble Note and honor";
Women Pleas'd, I. II.: "'Tis a main
miracle to feed this villain"; *ibid.* II.
i.: "'Tis a main hazard," i.e. "a great
risk."

226. *exhalation*] A meteor or falling
star. Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher,
Thierry and Theodoret, IV. i.:—

"And kings from heighth of all their
painted glories

Fall like spent exhalations to this
centre,"

(i.e. the grave). Some of the old
philosophers believed that vapour drawn
up by the sun and set on fire by the in-
fluence of the stars or by friction of
cloud on cloud became "bright exha-
lations." The word was used of every-
thing from a mist to a thunderbolt.
See *Julius Caesar*, II. i. 44:—

"These exhalations whizzing in the
air

Give so much light that I may read
by them",

Romeo and Juliet, III. v. 15:—

"It is some meteor that the sun
exhales,

To be to thee this night a torch-
bearer";

Beaumont and Fletcher, *Laws of
Candy*, II. i. (Cam. vol. III. p. 260):—

"An exhalation I profess to adore,
Beyond a fixed star, 'tis more il-
lustrious,

As everything rais'd out of smoak
is so";

A Looking-Glasse for London (Grosart's
Greene, vol. XIV. p. 31):—

"These [thunder and lightning] are
but common exhalations,

Drawn from the earth, in substance
hote and drie,

Or moist and thicke, or Meteors
combust . . .

Inkindled in the fierie region first";

ibid. p. 79:—

"a burning sword from heaven,
Which by a threatening arm is
brandished"—

"These are but clammy exhalations,
Which in the starrie Spheare [in.]
kindled be."

According to Pliny, however, exha-

Re-enter to WOLSEY the DUKES OF NORFOLK and SUFFOLK, the EARL OF SURREY and the LORD CHAMBERLAIN.

Nor. Hear the king's pleasure, cardinal : who commands you
To render up the great seal presently
Into our hands ; and to confine yourself 230
To Asher-house, my Lord of Winchester's,
Till you hear further from his highness.

Wol. Stay :
Where's your commission, lords ? words cannot carry
Authority so weighty.

Suf. Who dare cross 'em,
Bearing the king's will from his mouth expressly ? 235

Wol. Till I find more than will or words to do it—
I mean your malice—know, officious lords,
I dare, and must deny it. Now I feel
Of what coarse metal ye are moulded—envy :
How eagerly ye follow my disgraces, 240
As if it fed ye ! and how sleek and wanton
Ye appear in every thing may bring my ruin !
Follow your envious courses, men of malice ;
You have Christian warrant for 'em, and, no doubt,
In time will find their fit rewards. That seal 245
You ask with such a violence, the king,
Mine and your master, with his own hand gave me ;
Bade me enjoy it, with the place and honours,
During my life ; and, to confirm his goodness,
Tied it by letters-patents : now, who 'll take it ? 250

Sur. The king that gave it.

228. Scene v. Pope. *Hear . . . you*] So Pope ; two lines in Ff. 234.
weighty] *mighty* Ff 3, 4. 239. *coarse*] *base* Capell. 244. *Christian*] *a*
Christian Ff 3, 4. *no doubt*] omitted Pope, reading *a Christian*.

tions are phenomena of the air which
"is seated beneath the Moone, and
farre under that planet." See Holland's
translation, tom. 1. bk. ii. chap. xxxviii. :
"From hence [the air] proceed clouds,
thunder, and those terrible lightnings.
From hence come haile, frosts, shoures
of raine, storms and whirlewinds. . . .
For these grosse exhalations as they
mount upward to the heaven, are
beaten backe and driven downward by
the violence of the starres."

229. *presently*] instantly.

231. *To . . . Winchester's*] The

writer has forgotten that Wolsey was
himself "my Lord of Winchester,"
and the owner of Esher House so long
as he held the bishopric.

236-238. *Till . . . deny it*] I must
and will refuse to render up the great
seal till I have more evidence of the
king's will than your desire to show
malice and the words by which you ex-
press it.

250. *letters-patents*] a literal trans-
lation of *lettres patentes*, i.e. literæ
patentes, an open document conveying
some right or power.

- Wol.* It must be himself, then.
Sur. Thou art a proud traitor, priest.
Wol. Proud lord, thou liest :
 Within these forty hours Surrey durst better
 Have burnt that tongue than said so.
Sur. Thy ambition,
 Thou scarlet sin, robb'd this bemoaning land 255
 Of noble Buckingham, my father-in-law :
 The heads of all thy brother cardinals,
 With thee and all thy best parts bound together,
 Weigh'd not a hair of his. Plague of your policy !
 You sent me deputy for Ireland ; 260
 Far from his succour, from the king, from all
 That might have mercy on the fault thou gav'st him ;
 Whilst your great goodness, out of holy pity,
 Absolv'd him with an axe.
Wol. This, and all else 265
 This talking lord can lay upon my credit,
 I answer, is most false. The duke by law
 Found his deserts. How innocent I was
 From any private malice in his end,
 His noble jury and foul cause can witness.
 If I lov'd many words, lord, I should tell you 270
 You have as little honesty as honour,
 That in the way of loyalty and truth
 Toward the king, my ever royal master,
 Dare mate a sounder man than Surrey can be,
 And all that love his follies.
Sur. By my soul, 275

253. *forty*] *four* Malone conj.

255. *Thou scarlet sin*] See *infra*,
 l. 280, and *1 Henry VI.* i. iii. 42 :—

"Thy [Cardinal Beaufort's] scarlet
 robes as a child's bearing-cloth
 I'll use to carry thee out of this
 place";

ibid. l. 56 : "out, scarlet hypocrite !";
 and compare the reference to a judge's
 robes in *Lucrece*, 1650 : "His scarlet
 lust came evidence to swear." Greene,
Spanish Masquerado (Works, ed. Gros-
 sart, v. 260) : "For who meeteth a
 Cardinal mounted, first marking the
 trappings and furniture of his horse
 richly studded, his foot-cloth of velvet
 fringed with golde, his brave attyre

couered with his Scarlet Robe, and his
 sumptuous traine following him, shall
 thincke that he meeteth not one of
 Peter's disciples but some great Poten-
 tate or Monarch of the worlde."

260. *You . . . Ireland*] See note on

ii. i. 43, *supra*.

268. *From*] i.e. of. Cf. *2 Henry VI.*
 ii. i. 70 :—

"Gloucester is as innocent
 From meaning treason to our
 royal person
 As is the sucking lamb."

274. *mate*] rival, cope with, or be a
 match for. See examples in *New Eng.*
Dict.

Your long coat, priest, protects you ; thou shouldst feel
 My sword i' the life-blood of thee else. My lords,
 Can ye endure to hear this arrogance?
 And from this fellow? If we live thus tamely,
 To be thus jaded by a piece of scarlet, 280
 Farewell nobility ; let his grace go forward,
 And dare us with his cap like larks.

Wol. All goodness
 Is poison to thy stomach.

Sur. Yes, that goodness
 Of gleaning all the land's wealth into one,
 Into your own hands, cardinal, by extortion ; 285
 The goodness of your intercepted packets
 You writ to the pope against the king : your goodness,
 Since you provoke me, shall be most notorious.
 My Lord of Norfolk, as you are truly noble,
 As you respect the common good, the state 290
 Of our despis'd nobility, our issues,
 Who, if he live, will scarce be gentlemen,
 Produce the grand sum of his sins, the articles
 Collected from his life. I'll startle you

276. *Your . . . feel*] So Pope ; two lines in Ff. 282. *dare*] *daze* Anon.
 conj. 291. *issues*] *issues*' Vaughan conj. 292. *Who*] *Whom* F 1.

280. *jaded*] This passage is given under the meaning "to befool ; to jape. *Obs.*" in *New Eng. Dict.*, which compares *Twelfth Night*, II. v. 178 : "I do not now fool myself, to let imagination jade me." It would be possible to explain the word as "tyrannise over" from the sense of exhaust by riding. The former explanation is rejected by Prof. Case who compares *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. i. 34 :—

"The ne'er yet beaten horse of Parthia

We have jaded out o' the field," and suggests as the meaning, "driven out of the field or even cowed or dispirited."

281. *Farewell nobility*] The same expression and meaning occur in Beaumont and Fletcher, *Elder Brother*, IV. i. (Cam. vol. ii. p. 36) : "She is my Heir, and if she may be ravish'd Thus from my care, farewell Nobility ; Honour and Blood are mere neglected nothings."

282. *dare . . . larks*] cow, or fas-

ciate by means of a mirror, a piece of scarlet cloth, or a small hawk, with a view to capture. See Nares's glossary which cites the *Gentleman's Recreation* : After springing and marking wood-larks "surround them twice or thrice with your hobby on your fist, causing him to hover when you draw near, by which means they will lie still 'till you clap a net over them, which you carry on the point of a stick" ; Beaumont and Fletcher, *Pilgrim*, I. i. :—

"But there is another in the wind,
 some castrell

That hovers over her, and dares
 her daily" ;

Fansh. *Lusiad*. x. 66 : "All hush, all tremble, like a lark that's dared." The word is sometimes used figuratively as in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Maids Tragedy*, IV. :—

"For I have done those follies, those
 mad mischiefs,
 Would dare a woman."

291. *issues*] sons.

Worse than the sacring bell, when the brown wench 295
Lay kissing in your arms, lord cardinal.

Wol. How much, methinks, I could despise this man,
But that I am bound in charity against it!

Nor. Those articles, my lord, are in the king's hand :
But, thus much, they are foul ones.

Wol. So much fairer 300
And spotless shall mine innocence arise,
When the king knows my truth.

Sur. This cannot save you :
I thank my memory, I yet remember
Some of these articles, and out they shall.
Now, if you can blush and cry, "guilty," cardinal, 305
You'll show a little honesty.

Wol. Speak on, sir ;
I dare your worst objections : if I blush,
It is to see a nobleman want manners.

Sur. I had rather want those than my head. Have at you !

295. *sacring*] *scaring* Rowe (ed. 2). 300. *But, thus*] Capell; *But thus* Ff.
309. *Have at you*] So Rowe (ed. 2); a separate line in Ff.

295. *sacring*] consecrating. "The bell was rung at the elevation of the Host, or before the Sacrament as it was carried through the streets to the sick. Here probably the latter" (Clarendon ed.). See Holinshed (extracts, *ap.* Capell): "and presented him to the archbishop of Canterburie Anselme, to be sacred of him, the which according to the request did consecrate him."

300. *But . . . ones*] Vaughan writes: "There can be but one meaning of this line, so printed; that is, 'They are in the king's hand; but I must say of them as much as this, they are foul articles.' All editors so punctuate, but thereby they quite destroy the real point of the meaning, which is this: 'They are in the king's hand; and, except in this one particular of being in the king's hand, they are foul articles.'" Vaughan therefore follows Ff in omitting the comma after "But". The view of the Clarendon Press ed. seems better: "As the articles were in the king's hands [*i.e.* possession, not writing] Norfolk could not quote particulars from them, and gave therefore their general sense. Surrey comes to his help and quotes from memory."

305. *Now . . . cardinal*] the rhythm

of this line is unsatisfactory, and also the sense, for "cry guilty" must be construed with "if," which is absurd; anyone could cry "guilty". I would point—"Now, if you can, blush, and cry 'guilty,'" *i.e.* you'll show a little honesty by admitting your guilt and by blushing, if you are not too hardened to blush. Prof. Case, however, prefers the text, thinks *can* may be stressed, and that only a man who can see his faults, conquer his pride, and admit them honestly, can "cry guilty" in the sense intended by the speaker.

307. *objections*] accusations, as in 1 *Henry VI.* iv. 1. 129.—

"methinks you do not well
To bear with their perverse ob-
jections";
and 2 *Henry VI.* i. iii. 158.—

"As for your spiteful false objections,
Prove them, and I lie open to the
law."

309. *Have at you*] A warning or defiance before attacking. Cf. "one have at him" (II. ii. 86, *supra*) for one attack or blow. The precise sense of this and similar phrases naturally varies with the context. See Beaumont and Fletcher, *Mad Lover*, III. i. (Cam. iii. p. 32): "Instruct me, and have at ye,"

First that, without the king's assent or knowledge, 310
 You wrought to be a legate; by which power
 You maim'd the jurisdiction of all bishops.

Nor. Then that in all your writ to Rome, or else
 To foreign princes, "Ego et Rex meus"
 Was still inscrib'd; in which you brought the king 315
 To be your servant.

Suf. Then that, without the knowledge
 Either of king or council, when you went
 Ambassador to the emperor, you made bold
 To carry into Flanders the great seal.

316, 326. *Then*] omitted Pope.

i.e. say what you wish for and I shall attempt it; *Wit Without Money*, II. ii. (Cam. ii. p. 159): "and when I am whetted with wine, have at her"; *The Pilgrim*, IV. ii. (Cam. v. p. 204): "Do ye brave me? Then have among ye all, ye slaves, ye cowards."

310-332] See Holinshed, vol. iii. p. 747: "During this parlement was brought downe to the commons the booke of articles, which the lords had put to the king against the cardinall, the chief whereof where [*sic*] these.

"1. First, that he without the kings assent had procured to be a legat, by reason whereof he tooke awaie the right of all bishops and spirituall persons.

"2. Item, in all writings which he wrote to Rome, or anie other forren prince, he wrote *Ego & rex meus*, I and my king: as who would saie, that the king were his servant.

"4. Item, he without the kings assent carried the kings great seale with him into Flanders, when he was sent ambassador to the emperour.

"5. Item, he without the kings assent, sent a commission to sir Gregorie de Cassado, knight, to conclude a league betweene the king & the duke of Ferrar, without the kings knowledge.

"7. Item, that he caused the cardinals hat to be put on the kings coine.

"9. Item, that he had sent innumerable substance to Rome, for the obtaining of his dignities, to the great impoverishment of the realme. These articles with manie more, read in the common house, and signed with the cardinals hand, was confessed by him."

The above is a very brief summary;

a transcription of the original articles was given in Coke's *Institutes*, iv. 8.

314. *Ego . . . meus*] In Latin the pronoun of the first person is placed before other pronouns and before nouns. Wolsey's offence, if any, consisted in mentioning himself at all, not in putting himself first. There is nothing more arrogant in the Latin words than in their English equivalent, "My king and I." Miss Kemble, *Notes Upon Some of Shakespeare's Plays*, pp. 88, 89, seems to take a different view: "To this species of aggressive pride may be attributed the insane arrogance of his '*Ego et rex meus*'. To the noble Suffolk, the princely Buckingham, or the royal daughter of Spain, Katharine of Arragon, such a form of speech would have seemed nothing short of an audacious act of treason, an offence against order, duty, and majesty, a confounding of those all but sacred social laws by which they themselves were upheld in their several high spheres of state," etc. The mistake seems to have originated with the chroniclers, for, as Douce says: "The original article against Wolsey states that 'the Lord Cardinal of his presumptuous mind, in diverse and many of his letters and instructions sent out of this realme to outward parts had joynded himself with your Grace, as in saying and writing, *The king and I would ye should do thus. The king and I do give you our hearty thanks.*' Whereby it is apparent he used himself more like a fellow to your highness, then like a subject. Wolsey's crime therefore was not in degrading the king beneath himself, but in assuming a degree of consequence that seemed to place him on a level with his sovereign."

Sur. Item, you sent a large commission 320
 To Gregory de Cassado, to conclude,
 Without the king's will or the state's allowance,
 A league between his highness and Ferrara.

Suf. That, out of mere ambition, you have caus'd
 Your holy hat to be stamp'd on the king's coin. 325

Sur. Then, that you have sent innumerable substance—
 By what means got, I leave to your own conscience—
 To furnish Rome, and to prepare the ways
 You have for dignities, to the mere undoing
 Of all the kingdom. Many more there are ; 330
 Which, since they are of you and odious,
 I will not taint my mouth with.

Cham. O my lord !
 Press not a falling man too far ; 'tis virtue :
 His faults lie open to the laws ; let them,
 Not you, correct him. My heart weeps to see
 him 335
 So little of his great self.

Sur. I forgive him.
Suf. Lord cardinal, the king's further pleasure is—
 Because all those things you have done of late,
 By your power legatine, within this kingdom,
 Fall into the compass of a præmunire— 340
 That therefore such a writ be sued against you ;
 To forfeit all your goods, lands, tenements,

326. *substance*] *sims* Hanmer. 329. *have*] *pave* Staunton conj. 339.
legatine] Rowe (ed. 2) ; *Legatine* F 1 ; *Legantive* Ff 2, 3 ; *Legantine* F 4. 340.
into the] F 4 ; *into' th'* Ff 1, 2 ; *into th'* F 3 ; *in the* Pope ; *into* Steevens
 conj.

324, 325. *That . . . coin*] "An absurd and frivolous allegation," according to Douce, for "The episcopal privileges of coining money had long been established and were conceded in this reign to Bambrigg and Lee the predecessor and successor of Wolsey, as well as to the archbishops of Canterbury, Warham and Cranmer"; but as the Clarendon Editor remarks, "the cardinal's hat was the emblem of a foreign title." The coin in question was, as Holt White notes, from Coke, "your coyn of groats made at your city of York."

329. *mere*] absolute or utter, an extension of the original meaning, *viz.* unmixed, undiluted. Cf. III. i. 112, ii. 324, *supra*, and IV. i. 59, *infra*. See also

Love's Labour's Lost, I. ii. 35: "He speaks the mere contrary," and *Merchant of Venice*, III. ii. 265:—

"I have . . .
 Engag'd my friend to his mere
 enemy."

340. *præmunire*] There were several statutes of præmunire, so called from the first word of the writ addressed to the sheriff. "Præmunire" is supposed to be a corruption of "præmonere," *i.e.* admonish or warn, *sc.* the accused to appear and plead. The punishment was originally (1353) forfeiture and imprisonment, afterwards outlawry for those who sued unlawfully in foreign courts. The statute of 1393 expressly mentions the court of Rome.

Chattels, and whatsoever, and to be
Out of the king's protection. This is my charge.

Nor. And so we'll leave you to your meditations 345
How to live better. For your stubborn answer
About the giving back the great seal to us,
The king shall know it, and, no doubt, shall thank you.
So fare you well, my little good lord cardinal.

[*Exeunt all but Wolsey.*]

Wol. So farewell to the little good you bear me. 350

Farewell! a long farewell, to all my greatness!
This is the state of man: to-day he puts forth
The tender leaves of hopes; to-morrow blossoms,
And bears his blushing honours thick upon him;
The third day comes, a frost, a killing frost, 355
And, when he thinks, good easy man, full surely
His greatness is a-ripening, nips his root,
And then he falls, as I do. I have ventur'd,

343. *Chattels, and*] Theobald; *Castles* and Ff; *And chattels* Daniel conj.
350. Scene vi. Pope. 353. *hopes*] *hope* Steevens. 357. *root*] *shoot*
Warburton conj.

343. *Chattels*] Theobald's correction of *Castles* (Ff) which he supports by referring to a passage in Holinshed (iii. p. 741) which Malone quotes: "After this in the king's bench his matter for the premunire, being called upon, two attorneys, which he had authorised by his warrant signed with his owne hand, confessed the action and so had judgement to forfeit all his lands tenements goods and cattels, and to be out of the kings protection," *i.e.* outlawed. Malone notes the resemblance of *cattels* to *castles*. "Cattle" and "chattel" are forms of the same word differentiated in meaning.

349. *little good*] These words might be hyphenated; Norfolk modifies the usual phrase, "my good lord."

351. *Farewell*] Hunter retains the *Farewell*? of the folios, which however often have ? for !, and regards it as a rhetorical question:—

"Did I say farewell?

. . . Yes, it is too surely so."

But the expression here seems analogous to one of the commonest of Fletcher's tricks of style, *viz.* to use a substantive and then immediately by way of emphasis to repeat it with an adjective. See l. 355, *infra*, "a frost, a killing frost," and the many instances cited in the *Introduction*.

351. *a, long farewell*] An imitation of

longum vale, not in Shakspeare, often in Fletcher. See *Little French Lawyer*, v. i.: "farewel wench, A long farewell from all that ever knew thee"; *Valentinian*, iii. i.: "Now go for ever from me"—"Long farewell, Sir"; *Bonduca*, iv. iv.: "A long farewell to this world"; *Double Marriage*, iii. i.: "Farewell Sir, like obedience thus I leave you, My long farewell"; *Woman's Prize*, v. i.: "Farewel"—"A long farewell"; *The Captain*, i. iii.: "A long farewell I give thee"; *Cupid's Revenge*, iv. iv.: "Farewell! To all our happiness, a long farewell!"

357. *nips his root*] Warburton read *shoot*, "as spring-frosts are not injurious to the roots of fruit-trees," and Johnson remarks that "the metaphor will not, in either reading, correspond exactly with nature." He might have added that "to-day . . . to-morrow . . . the third day" cannot be taken as an extract from a calendar of gardening. Steevens cites A. W.'s Commendation of Gascoigne and his Poesies (Gascoigne, *Wks.* 1587): "And frosts so nip the rootes of vertuous-meaning minds."

358-361. *I . . . depth*] Similar expressions occur in Fletcher. See *Wit at Several Weapons*, i. i.:—

"I rush'd into the world, which is indeed

Much like the Art of swimming . . .

Like little wanton boys that swim on bladders,
 This many summers in a sea of glory, 360
 But far beyond my depth : my high-blown pride
 At length broke under me, and now has left me,
 Weary and old with service, to the mercy
 Of a rude stream that must for ever hide me.
 Vain pomp and glory of this world, I hate ye : 365
 I feel my heart new open'd. O, how wretched
 Is that poor man that hangs on princes' favours !
 There is, betwixt that smile we would aspire to,
 That sweet aspect of princes, and their ruin,
 More pangs and fears than wars or women have : 370
 And when he falls, he falls like Lucifer,
 Never to hope again.

360. *This*] *These* Pope. 365. *this*] *the* Ff 3, 4. 368. *we*] *he* Hanmer.
 369. *their*] *our* Pope; *his* Hanmer.

For he that lies borne up with
 Patrimonies
 Looks like a long great Ass that
 swims with bladders,
 Come but one prick of adverse
 fortune to him
 He sinks, because he never tried
 to swim";
The Captain, III. i. :—
 "I . . . will not venture
 Above my depth";
Knight of the Burning Pestle, I. i. :—
 "My wanton prentice,
 That like a bladder blew himself
 up with love
 ♀ I have let out";
Knight of Malta, IV. ii. :—
 "Ay, there we are; and all our
 painted glory
 A bubble that a boy blows into the
 air
 And there it breaks";
Women Pleased, II. vi. :—
 "Methinks I have ventured now,
 like a weak bark,
 Upon a broken billow, that will
 swallow me,
 Upon a rough sea of suspicions,
 Stuck round with jealous rocks";
False One, V. iv. :—
 "What Sea of rudeness
 Breaks in upon us?"
Queen of Corinth, III. i. :—
 "Ephanes from my mother's sea of
 favors,
 Spreads like a river."
 In Shakespeare, however, we have
 "sea of troubles," *Hamlet*, III. i. 59;
 and "sea of joys," *Pericles*, V. i.
 194.
 360. *This many*] "many" was a col-
 lective noun; see Tennyson, *Miller's*
Daughter : "They have not shed a
 many tears"; but we find "this" and
 other singulars used with plurals, e.g.
I Henry IV. II. ii. 17 : "this two and
 twenty years."
 364. *rude stream*] rough current or
 tide-way.
 369. *their ruin*] the ruin they inflict.
 Malone quotes I. 205, *supra* :—
 "He parted frowning from me as if
 ruin
 Leap'd from his eyes."
 No change is needed.
 371. *like Lucifer*] "So in Church-
 yard's 'Legend of Cardinal Wolsey,'
Mirrors for Magistrates, 1587 :—
 'Your fault not half so great as was
 my pride,
 For which offence fell Lucifer from
 the skies.'
 (Malone.) "In *The Life and Death of*
Thomas Wolsey, &c. a poem, by Tho.
 Storer, student of Christ-church in Ox-
 ford, 1599, the Cardinal expresses him-
 self in a manner somewhat similar :—
 'If once we fall, we fall Colossus-
 like,
 We fall at once, like pillars of the
 sunne,' &c."
 (Steevens.) Douce cites Isaiah xiv.
 12 : "How art thou fallen from heaven,
 O Lucifer, son of the morning."

Enter CROMWELL, and stands amazed.

Why, how now, Cromwell!

Crom. I have no power to speak, sir.

Wol. What, amaz'd

At my misfortunes? can thy spirit wonder

A great man should decline? Nay, an you weep, 375

I am fall'n indeed.

Crom. How does your grace?

Wol. Why, well;

Never so truly happy, my good Cromwell.

I know myself now; and I feel within me

A peace above all earthly dignities,

A still and quiet conscience. The king has cur'd
me, 380

I humbly thank his grace; and from these shoulders,

These ruin'd pillars, out of pity, taken

A load would sink a navy, too much honour.

O, 'tis a burden, Cromwell, 'tis a burden

Too heavy for a man that hopes for heaven! 385

Crom. I am glad your grace has made that right use of it.

Wol. I hope I have: I am able now, methinks,

Out of a fortitude of soul I feel,

To endure more miseries and greater far

Than my weak-hearted enemies dare offer. 390

What news abroad?

Crom. The heaviest and the worst

Is your displeasure with the king.

Wol. God bless him! •

Crom. The next is, that Sir Thomas More is chosen

Lord Chancellor in your place.

375. *an*] and *Ff*; *if* Pope. 386, 387. *I . . . methinks*] So Pope; four lines in *Ff*.

375. *an*] The modern spelling of *And* (*Ff*), meaning *if*, which Pope substituted.

381. *I . . . grace*] The parenthetical use of such expressions is common in Shakspeare's earlier plays and in Fletcher. See *Scornful Lady*, iv. i.: "they [my eyes] serve me without spectacles, I thank 'em"; *Wit Without Money*, i. i.: "Not a farthing; dispatch'd my poor annuity, I thank him" (ironical); *Wild-Goose Chase*, i. iii.: "H'as handsomely bred up my girls, I thank him." See *Introduction* for other examples.

389, 390. *To . . . offer*] Malone compares *2 Henry VI.* iv. i. 130: "More can I bear than you dare execute"; and *Othello*, v. ii. 162:—

"Thou hast not half the power to do me harm

As I have to be hurt."

393. *Sir Thomas More*] See Holinshed, iii. p. 743: "On the foure & twentieth of November [1529], was sir Thomas Moore made lord chancellor, & the next day led to the chancerie by the dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, and there sworne."

Wol. That's somewhat sudden :
 But he's a learned man. May he continue 395
 Long in his highness' favour, and do justice
 For truth's sake and his conscience ; that his bones,
 When he has run his course and sleeps in blessings,
 May have a tomb of orphans' tears wept on 'em !
 What more ?

Crom. That Cranmer is return'd with welcome, 400
 Install'd lord archbishop of Canterbury.

Wol. That's news indeed.

Crom. Last, that the Lady Anne,
 Whom the king hath in secrecy long married,
 This day was view'd in open as his queen,
 Going to chapel ; and the voice is now 405
 Only about her coronation.

Wol. There was the weight that pull'd me down. O
 Cromwell,
 The king has gone beyond me : all my glories
 In that one woman I have lost for ever :
 No sun shall ever usher forth mine honours, 410
 Or gild again the noble troops that waited
 Upon my smiles. Go, get thee from me, Cromwell ;

407. *There . . . Cromwell*] So Pope ; two lines in Ff.

399. *a tomb . . . tears*] "The chancellor is the general guardian of orphans," says Johnson, who found "a tomb of tears" very harsh. Steevens compares Drummond's *Tears for the Death of Moeliades*.—

"The Muses, Phœbus, Love, have raised of their teares

A crystal tomb to him, through which his worth appears."

401. *archbishop of Canterbury*] See Holinshed, iii. 777: "In the season of the last summer [1532] died William Warham archbishop of Canturburie, and then was named to that sea Thomas Cranmer the kings chapleine, a man of good learning, and of a vertuous life, which latelie before had beene ambassador from the king to the pope." Wolsey died in 1530.

404. *in open*] "A Latinism [*in aperto*] perhaps introduced by Ben Jonson, who is supposed to have tampered with this play" (Steevens); but the phrase occurs as early as 1382 (see *New Eng. Dict.*), and there is no satisfactory evidence of Ben Jonson's tampering.

404. *as his queen*] See Holinshed, iii. 778. "After that the king perceived his new wife to be with child, he caused all officers necessarie to be appointed to hir, and so on Easter-even she went to hir closet openlie as queene; and then the king appointed the day of hir coronation to be kept on Whitsundaie next following."

405. *the voice*] the public talk. See iv. ii. 11 (Clar. ed.).

408. *gone beyond*] overreached. So in 1 Thess. iv. 6: "That no man go beyond and defraud his brother in any matter" (Clar. ed.).

411. *noble troops*] See Holinshed, iii. 760: "He had also a great number dailie attending upon him, both of noblemen & woorthie gentlemen, with no small number of the tallest yeomen that he could get in all the realme." From MSS. of Cavenish's Life of Wolsey, Malone gives the real number of his household as 180. Other numbers are found in MSS. and editions, 500, 800, and even 1800.

I am a poor fall'n man, unworthy now
 To be thy lord and master : seek the king ;
 That sun, I pray, may never set ! I have told him 415
 What and how true thou art : he will advance thee ;
 Some little memory of me will stir him—
 I know his noble nature—not to let
 Thy hopeful service perish too : good Cromwell,
 Neglect him not ; make use now, and provide 420
 For thine own future safety.

Crom. O my lord,
 Must I then leave you ? must I needs forgo
 So good, so noble and so true a master ?
 Bear witness, all that have not hearts of iron,
 With what a sorrow Cromwell leaves his lord. 425
 The king shall have my service, but my prayers
 For ever and for ever shall be yours.

Wol. Cromwell, I did not think to shed a tear
 In all my miseries ; but thou hast forc'd me,
 Out of thy honest truth, to play the woman. 430
 Let's dry our eyes : and thus far hear me, Cromwell ;
 And, when I am forgotten, as I shall be,
 And sleep in dull cold marble, where no mention
 Of me more must be heard of, say, I taught thee ;
 Say, Wolsey, that once trod the ways of glory, 435
 And sounded all the depths and shoals of honour,
 Found thee a way, out of his wreck, to rise in ;
 A sure and safe one, though thy master miss'd it.
 Mark but my fall and that that ruin'd me.
 Cromwell, I charge thee, fling away ambition : 440

435. *trod the ways*] *rode the waves* Warburton conj.; *trod the waves* Capell conj.

420. *use*] interest (Steevens) or profit.
 Cf. *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, II. iv.
 68 :—

"Yet hath Sir Proteus . . .
 Made use and fair advantage of
 his days."

430. *honest truth*] From Cromwell's defence of Wolsey in parliament, "he was esteemed the most faithfullest servant to his master of all other," see Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, p. 274 ; but, as the Clarendon ed. notes, the passage was not copied by Stow, and is therefore unlikely to have suggested what is in the text here.

430. *play the woman*] a common expression in the dramatists for shed-

ding tears. See *Little French Lawyer*, I. i. :—

"They are tears of anger :
 O that I should live
 To play the woman thus."

431. *Let's . . . eyes*] cf. Beaumont and Fletcher, *Spanish Curate*, I. ii. : "Come let us drie our eyes, we'll have a feast."

436. *sounded all*] So in Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Custom of the Country*, II. i. : "For if I studied the Countries Laws I should so easily sound all their depth. . . ."

437, 438. *a way . . . safe one*] For this form of expression see *Introduction*.

By that sin fell the angels; how can man then,
 The image of his Maker, hope to win by it?
 Love thyself last: cherish those hearts that hate thee;
 • Corruption wins not more than honesty.
 Still in thy right hand carry gentle peace, 445
 To silence envious tongues. Be just, and fear not:
 Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's,
 Thy God's, and truth's; then if thou fall'st, O Cromwell,
 Thou fall'st a blessed martyr! Serve the king;
 And prithee, lead me in: 450
 There take an inventory of all I have,
 To the last penny; 'tis the king's; my robe,
 And my integrity to heaven, is all
 I dare now call mine own. O Cromwell, Cromwell!
 ✓ Had I but serv'd my God with half the zeal 455

442. *The image*] *Tho' th' image* Hanmer. 449, 450. *Serve . . . in*] So Rowe (ed. 2); one line in Ff.

441. *By . . . angels*] See above, l. 371.

443. *cherish . . . hate thee*] "Good divinity," says the author of *The Divine Legation of Moses*, "and an admirable precept for our conduct in private life, but never calculated or designed for the magistrate or public minister. Warburton would therefore read *cherish those hearts that wait thee*, i.e. thy dependants." "Wait" in this sense is unknown. The precept seems a paraphrase of "Love your enemies."

451. *an inventory*] See Holinshed, iii. 741: "Then the cardinall called all his officers before him, and tooke accompt of them for all such stuffe, whereof they had charge. . . . There was laid on everie table bookes reporting the contents of the same, and so was there inventaries of all things in order against the kings coming." This was after the delivery of the great seal of England, when Wolsey "was content to depart simplie, taking with him nothing but onlie certeine provision for his house."

452. *my robe*] Not his winding sheet (Clarendon ed.) but the clothes he wore. "At Asher (Holinshed, iii. 741), he and his familie continued the space of three or foure weekes, without either beds, sheets, table cloths, or dishes to eat their meat in or wherewith to buie

anie: the cardinall was forced to borow of the bishop of Carleill, plate and dishes, &c."

455-457. *Had . . . enemies*] Said to "maister Kingston at Leicester Abbey." Wolsey was not the first to use such language; De Berghes, an agent of Charles of Castille, said to Margaret of Savoy: "If I and Reimer had served God as we have served the king, we might have hoped for a good place in Paradise." Steevens gives other instances. "When Samrah, the deputy governor of Basorah, was deposed by Moawiyah, the sixth caliph, he is reported to have expressed himself in the following manner: 'If I had served God so well as I have served him, he would never have condemned me to all eternity'; and Churchyard, *The Earle of Murlton's Tragedy*, 1593:—

'Had I serv'd God as well in every sort,
 As I did serve my king, and maister still;
 My scope had not this season
 beene so short,
 Nor world have had the power to
 do me ill.'"

Malone cites the words of Antonio Perez, favourite of Philip II. of Spain: "Mon zele estoit si grand vers ces benignes puissances [la cour de Turin] que si j'en eusse en autant pour Dieu, j'ne doubte point qu'il ne m'eut deja

I serv'd my king, ~~he would not in mine age~~
~~Have left me naked to mine enemies.~~

Crom. Good sir, have patience.

Wol.

So I have. Farewell .

The hopes of court ! my hopes in heaven do dwell.

[*Exeunt.*]

recompensé de son paradis"; and good a servant to the Lord my God, as Douce those of Sir James Hamilton I was to thee, I had not died that addressed in a dream to James V. : death" (Pinscottie's *History of Scotland*, 1788, p. 261). See also *Notes and Queries*, v. iv. 43.

ACT IV

SCENE I.—*A street in Westminster.*

Enter two Gentlemen, meeting one another.

First Gent. You're well met once again.

Sec. Gent. So are you.

First Gent. You come to take your stand here and behold
The Lady Anne pass from her coronation?

Sec. Gent. 'Tis all my business. At our last encounter,
The Duke of Buckingham came from his trial. 5

First Gent. 'Tis very true: but that time offer'd sorrow;
This, general joy.

Sec. Gent. 'Tis well: the citizens,
I am sure, have shown at full their royal minds—
As, let 'em have their rights, they are ever forward—
In celebration of this day with shows, 10
Pageants and sights of honour.

First Gent. Never greater,
Nor, I'll assure you, better taken, sir.

Sec. Gent. May I be bold to ask what that contains,
That paper in your hand?

First Gent. Yes; 'tis the list
Of those that claim their offices this day 15

A . . . Westminster] Theobald. 1. *again*] *again, sir* Keightley. So]
And so Pope. 8. *royal*] *loyal* Pope.

Act IV. Scene 1.] By Fletcher (Spedding), by Massinger (Boyle).

1. *once again*] For the previous meeting see II. i.

8. *royal minds*] princely generosity. Pope reads *loyal*, which Malone took to be the meaning, "their minds well affected to their King," comparing 2 *Henry IV.* iv. i. 193: "were our royal faiths martyrs in love". Steevens saw that the word meant noble, and compared Banquo's "royalty of nature," *Macbeth*, III. i. 50.

9. *let . . . rights*] to give them due credit, to speak of them as they deserve. Such parentheses occur fre-

quently in Massinger as well as in Fletcher.

15. *those . . . day*] See Holinshed, III. 778: "In the beginning of Maie, the king caused open proclamation to be made, that all men that claimed to doo anie service, or execute anie office at the solemne feast of the coronation by the waie of tenure, grant, or prescription, should put their grant three weekes after Easter in the Starre chamber before Charles duke of Suffolke, for that time high steward of England. . . . The duke of Norfolke claimed to be erle marshall," etc)

By custom of the coronation.

The Duke of Suffolk is the first, and claims
To be high-steward ; next, the Duke of Norfolk,
He to be earl marshal : you may read the rest.

Sec. Gent. I thank you, sir : had I not known those
customs, 20

I should have been beholding to your paper.

But, I beseech you, what 's become of Katharine,
The princes dowager ? how goes her business ?

First Gent. That I can tell you too. The Archbishop
Of Canterbury, accompanied with other 25

Learned and reverend fathers of his order,

Held a late court at Dunstable, six miles off

From Ampthill, where the princess lay ; to which

She was often cited by them, but appear'd not :

And, to be short, for not appearance and 30

The king's late scruple, by the main assent

Of all these learned men she was divorced,

And the late marriage made of none effect :

19. *He*] omitted Pope.

29. *was often*] *oft* was Hamner ; *was oft* Hudson.

30. *not appearance*] *non-appearance* Steevens conj.

21. *beholding*] indebted or under obligations to. The word though originating in an error for beholden (see *New Eng. Dict. sub voc.*) was rightly restored by Boswell, who cites Butler, *English Grammar*, 1633 : "Beholding to one, to behold or regard : which by a *synecdoche generis*, signifyeth to respect and behold, or look upon with love and thanks for a benefit received, &c., yet some now adays had rather write it—*beholden*, i.e. *obliged*, answering to that *teneri et firmiter obligari* ; which concept would seem the more probable, if to *behold* did signify to *hold* ; as to *bedek*, to *dek* ; to *besprinkle* to *sprinkle*. But indeed neither is *beholden* English ; neither are *behold* and *hold* any more all one than *become* and *come*, or *beseem* and *seem*." Butler is mistaken, but his statement shows that *beholding* was regarded as a good English word. It should not therefore be treated as a misprint, as by Pope who substituted *beholden* here, and in i. iv. 41.

24-33. *The Archbishop . . . effect*] See Holinshed, iii. 778, when the Queen would not revoke her appeal to Rome "the archbishop of Canturburie accompanied with the bishops of London, Winchester, Bath, J. Incolne, and divers

other learned men in great number, rode to Dunstable, which is six miles from Ampthill, where the princesse Dowager laie [*i.e.* lived], and there by one doctor Lee, she was cited to appear before the said archbishop in cause of matrimonie in the said towne of Dunstable, and at the daie of appearance she appeared not, but made default, and so she was called *peremptorie*, everie day fiteene daies together, and at the last for lacke of appearance by the assent of all the learned men there present, she was divorced from the king, and the marriage declared to be void and of none effect."

30. *not appearance*] In favour of his conjecture *non-appearance*, Steevens cited "non-performance," *Winter's Tale*, i. i. 261. He might have added "non-regardance," *Twelfth Night*, v. i. 124 ; but no doubt the text is right : hybrids and compounds of adverb and substantive were not uncommon, e.g. "here-approach," *Macbeth*, iv. iii. 133.

31. *main assent*] Mr. Gollancz explains "main" as "general," but the usual meaning is strong, firm ; "a main note" means strong evidence, in Beaumont and Fletcher, *The False One*, iv. ii.

Since which she was removed to Kimbolton,
Where she remains now sick.

Sec. Gent.

Alas, good lady! 35

[*Trumpets.*

The trumpets sound : stand close, the queen is coming.

[*Hautboys.*

THE ORDER OF THE CORONATION.

1. *A lively flourish of Trumpets.*
2. *Then two Judges.*
3. LORD CHANCELLOR, *with purse and mace before him.*
4. Choristers, *singing.* Musicians.
5. MAYOR OF LONDON, *bearing the mace.* Then Garter, *in his coat of arms, and on his head he wears a gilt copper crown.*
6. MARQUESS DORSET, *bearing a sceptre of gold, on his head a demi-coronal of gold.* With him, the EARL OF SURREY, *bearing the rod of silver with the dove, crowned with an earl's coronet.* Collars of SS.
7. DUKE OF SUFFOLK, *in his robe of estate, his coronet on his head, bearing a long white wand, as high-steward.* With him, the DUKE OF NORFOLK, *with the rod of marshalship, a coronet on his head.* Collars of SS.
8. *A canopy borne by four of the Cinque-ports ; under it, the QUEEN in her robe ; in her hair richly adorned with pearl, crowned.* On each side her, the BISHOPS OF LONDON and WINCHESTER.

34. Kimbolton] Kymmaltou Ff 1, 2. 36. The . . . coming] So Pope ; two lines in Ff. Order of the Coronation : 4. Choristers] Quiristers or Quiristers Ff. Musicians] Cam. Edd. ; Musicke Ff. 5. he wears] he wore Ff. ; omitted Kowe. 6. Collars of SS] Rowe ; Collars of Esses Ff. 8. in her hair] her hair Dyce, ed. 2 (S. Walker conj.).

34. Kimbolton] See Holinshed, iii. 795, 796 : "The princesse Dowager lieng at Kimbalton, fell into hir last sicknesse . . . she departed this life at Kimbalton aforesaid, and was buried at Peterborow."

Order of the Coronation.

6. *Earl of Surrey*] Earl of Arundel. See Holinshed, iii. 784 : "then went the marquesse of Dorset in a robe of estate which bare the scepter of gold, and the earle of Arundel which bare the rod of ivorie [not silver, as in the text] with the dove both together."

7. *Duke of Norfolk*] A mistake for his half-brother William Howard who represented him. See Holinshed, iii. 784 : "after him [i.e. the Earl of

Oxford as High Chamberlain, not mentioned in text] went the duke of Suffolke in his robe of estate also for that daie being high steward of England, having a long white rod in his hand, and the lord William Howard with the rod of the marshalship, and everie knight of the garter had on his collar of the order." In his account of the previous day's procession Holinshed says (p. 781) : "After all these rode the lord William Howard with the marshalles rod, deputie to his brother the duke of Norffolke marshall of England, which was ambassador then in France."

8. *in her hair*] Holinshed says "in hir here [hair] coiffe and circlet as she had the saturdaye," i.e. on the previous

9. *The old DUCHESS OF NORFOLK, in a coronal of gold, wrought with flowers, bearing the QUEEN's train.*

10. *Certain Ladies or Countesses, with plain circlets of gold without flowers.*

They pass over the stage in order and state.

Sec. Gent. A royal train, believe me. These I know :
Who's that that bears the sceptre?

First Gent. Marquess Dorset :
And that the Earl of Surrey, with the rod.

Sec. Gent. A bold brave gentleman. That should be 40
The Duke of Suffolk?

First Gent. 'Tis the same : high-steward.

Sec. Gent. And that my Lord of Norfolk?

First Gent. Yes.

Sec. Gent. [*Looking on the Queen*] Heaven bless thee !
Thou hast the sweetest face I ever look'd on.

Sir, as I have a soul, she is an angel ;
Our king has all the Indies in his arms, 45
And more and richer, when he strains that lady :
I cannot blame his conscience.

First Gent. They that bear
The cloth of honour over her, are four barons
Of the Cinque-ports.

Sec. Gent. Those men are happy ; and so are all are near
her. 50

40. *That*] *The next* Hanmer ; *That next* Capell ; *That lord* Hudson (S. Walker conj.).
48. *honour over*] *state above* Pope. 50. *Those . . . her*] So
Pope ; two lines in Ff. and] omitted Pope.

day when "hir hair hanged downe,
but on hir head she had a coife with a
circlet about it full of rich stones."

Prof. Case cites Spenser, *Epithalamium*, st. 9:—

"Her long loose yellow locks lyke
golden wyre,
Sprinkled with perle, and perling
flowres atweene
Doe lyke a golden mantle her
attyre."

Jonson, *Underwoods*, xciv., *Epithalamion*, st. 6:—

"Her tresses trim her back,
As she did lack
Nought of a maiden queen";

Ibid. vi. :—

"That the bride, allowed a maid
Looked not half so fresh and
fair,

With the advantage of her hair, &
a passage on which Gifford notes that

"Brides in Jonson's days were always
led to the altar with their hair hanging
down. To this he alludes in several of
his masques; and H. Peacham, in
describing the marriage of the Princess
Elizabeth with the Palsgrave, says
that 'the bride came into the chapell
with a coronet of pearle on her head,
and her haire disheveled, and hanging
down over her shoulders.'"

46. *strains*] embraces. Though
Shakespeare does not use the word in
this sense, there is no reason to suppose
with Steevens that Ben Jonson is here
attempting to reproduce in English the
Latin *comprimere*. See Beaumont and
Fletcher, *Women Pleased*, II. vi. : "Hug
me, and love me, hug me close."—
"Fie captain."—"Nay, I have strength
and I can strain ye sirrah," etc. Prof.
Case notes that "strain to the heart"
is still in common use.

I take it, she that carries up the train
Is that old noble lady, Duchess of Norfolk.

First Gent. It is ; and all the rest are countesses.

Sec. Gent. Their coronets say so. These are stars indeed,
And sometimes falling ones.

First Gent. No more of that. 55

[*Exit procession ; and then a great flourish of trumpets.*

Enter a third Gentleman.

God save you, sir ! where have you been broiling ?

Third Gent. Among the crowd i' the abbey ; where a finger
Could not be wedg'd in more : I am stifled
With the mere rankness of their joy.

Sec. Gent. You saw
The ceremony.

Third Gent. That I did.

First Gent. How was it ? 60

Third Gent. Well worth the seeing.

Sec. Gent. Good sir, speak it to us.

Third Gent. As well as I am able. The rich stream
Of lords and ladies, having brought the queen
To a prepar'd place in the choir, fell off
A distance from her ; while her grace sat down 65
To rest awhile, some half an hour or so,
In a rich chair of state, opposing freely
The beauty of her person to the people.
Believe me, sir, she is the goodliest woman
That ever lay by man : which when the people 70
Had the full view of, such a noise arose
As the shrouds make at sea in a stiff tempest,
As loud and to as many tunes : hats, cloaks,—
Doublets, I think,—flew up ; and had their faces
Been loose, this day they had been lost. Such joy 75

56. *where*] say *where* Hanmer ; and *where* Capell, *why, where* S. Walker
conj. *broiling*] *a-broiling* Wordsworth (Seymour conj.). 58. *I*] and *I* Han-
mer. 59, 60. *You saw the ceremony*] So Hanmer ; one line in Ff. 64,
90. *choir*] *quire* Ff.

67. *opposing*] placing opposite or in
full view. So in *1 Henry IV.* iii. i.
110, "the opposed continent" means
that which lies opposite.

72. *shrouds*] the lower and upper
standing-rigging. They are always
divided into pairs or couples ; that is

to say, one piece of rope is doubled,
and the parts fastened together at a
small distance from the middle, so as
to leave a sort of noose or collar ; the
ends have each a dead-eye turned in, by
which they are set up by laniards to the
channel (*i.e.* by short ropes to the side).

I never saw before. Great-bellied women,
That had not half a week to go, like rams
In the old time of war, would shake the press,
And make 'em reel before 'em. No man living
Could say "This is my wife" there, all were woven 80
So strangely in one piece.

Sec. Gent.

But what follow'd?

Third Gent. At length her grace rose, and with modest paces
Came to the altar, where she kneel'd and saintlike
Cast her fair eyes to heaven and pray'd devoutly ;
Then rose again and bow'd her to the people ; 85
When by the Archbishop of Canterbury
She had all the royal makings of a queen,
As holy oil, Edward Confessor's crown,
The rod, and bird of peace, and all such emblems
Laid nobly on her : which perform'd, the choir, 90
With all the choicest music of the kingdom,
Together sung "Te Deum". So she parted,
And with the same full state pac'd back again
To York-place, where the feast is held.

First Gent.

Sir,

You must no more call it York-place ; that's past ; 95
For, since the cardinal fell, that title's lost :
'Tis now the king's, and call'd Whitehall.

81. *in] into* Mitford conj. *But] But pray* Pope. 94, 95. *Sir, You must]*
You must Pope ; *Good sir, You must* Capell ; *Sir, you Must* Steevens. *that's]*
that is Steevens. 96. *title's]* Ff 3, 4 ; *Titles* Ff 1, 2.

77. *rams]* i.e. battering-rams.

87. *royal makings]* See Holinshed, iii.
784 : "When she was thus brought to
the high place made in the meddest of
the church, betweene the queere and
the high altar, she was set in a rich
chaire. And after that she had rested
a while, she descended downe to the
high altar and there prostrate hir selfe
while the archbishop of Canturburie
said certeine collects ; then she rose,
and the bishop annointed hir on the
head and on the brest, and then she was
led up againe, where after diverse
orisons said, the archbishop set the
crowne of saint Edward on hir head,
and then delivered hir the scepter of
gold in hir right hand, and the rod of
ivorie with the dove in the left hand,
and then all the queere soong Te Deum,
&c."

91. *choicest music]* best musicians,

92. *parted]* departed. Cf. iii. ii. 205,
ante.

95-97. *York-place . . . Whitehall]*
The feast was in Westminster Hall.
For the change of name, see Holinshed,
iii. 775 : "The king having purchased
of the cardinall after his attendure in
the premunire his house at West-
minster, called Yorke place, and got a
confirmation of the cardinals feoffement
thereof made of the chapter of the
cathedrall church of Yorke, purchased
this yeare also all the medows about
saint James, and there made a faire
mansion and a parke for his greater
commodotie & pleasure. And bicause
he had a great affection to the said
house at Westminster, he bestowed
great cost in going forward with the
building thereof, and changed the name,

- Third Gent.* I know it ;
But 'tis so lately alter'd, that the old name
Is fresh about me.
- Sec. Gent.* What two reverend bishops
Were those that went on each side of the queen ? 100
- Third Gent.* Stokesly and Gardiner ; the one of Winchester,
Newly preferr'd from the king's secretary,
The other, London.
- Sec. Gent.* He of Winchester
Is held no great good lover of the archbishop's,
The virtuous Cranmer.
- Third Gent.* All the land knows that : 105
However, yet there is no great breach ; when it comes,
Cranmer will find a friend will not shrink from him.
- Sec. Gent.* Who may that be, I pray you ?
- Third Gent.* Thomas Cromwell ;
A man in much esteem with the king, and truly
A worthy friend. The king has made him master 110
O' the jewel house,
And one, already, of the privy council.
- Sec. Gent.* He will deserve more.
- Third Gent.* Yes, without all doubt.
Come, gentlemen, ye shall go my way,
Which is to the court, and there ye shall be my
guests : 115
Something I can command. As I walk thither,
I'll tell ye more.
- Both.* You may command us, sir. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II.—*Kimbolton.*

Enter KATHARINE, DOWAGER, *sick ; led between* GRIFFITH,
her Gentleman Usher, and PATIENCE, *her woman.*

Grif. How does your grace ?

Kath. O Griffith, sick to death !
My legs, like loaden branches, bow to the earth,

98. *that*] omitted Pope. 115. *ye*] omitted Pope. Kimbolton] Theobald.

so that it was after called the Kings palace of Westminster." The side-note to this passage is : "Yorke place or white Hall now the palace of Westminster, S. James."

102. *Newly . . . secretary*] See II. ii.

116. *ante.* Gardiner became bishop of Winchester in 1531, but continued to act as secretary to the king till 1534.

Act IV. Scene II.] By Fletcher (Spedding and Boyle).

2. *Griffith*] See Brewer, *Henry VIII.*

Willing to leave their burthen. Reach a chair.
 So ; now, methinks, I feel a little ease.
 Didst thou not tell me, Griffith, as thou led'st me, 5
 That the great child of honour, Cardinal Wolsey,
 Was dead ?

Grif. Yes, madam ; but I think your grace,
 Out of the pain you suffer'd, gave no ear to't.

Kath. Prithee, good Griffith, tell me how he died :
 If well, he stepp'd before me, happily, 10
 For my example.

Grif. Well, the voice goes, madam :
 For after the stout Earl Northumberland
 Arrested him at 'York, and brought him forward,
 As a man sorely tainted, to his answer,
 He fell sick suddenly, and grew so ill 15
 He could not sit his mule.

Kath. Alas, poor man !

Grif. At last, with easy roads, he came to Leicester,
 Lodg'd in the abbey ; where the reverend abbot,
 With all his covent, honourably receiv'd him ;
 To whom he gave these words, " O father abbot, 20
 An old man, broken with the storms of state,
 Is come to lay his weary bones among ye ;
 Give him a little earth for charity ! "
 So went to bed ; where eagerly his sickness
 Pursued him still ; and three nights after this, 25

4. *So ; now*] *So—now* Rowe ; *So now* Ff. 7. *think*] *thought* Hudson
 (Lettsom conj.). 10. *me, happily,*] *me happily* Ff. 19. *covent*] *convent*
 Rowe.

ii. 343, note : " His proper name was Griffin Richardes . . . receiver-general to the Queen."

10. *happily*] haply, perhaps. Malone compares 2 *Henry VI.* iii. 1. 306.

11. *voice*] rumour, as in iii. ii. 405, *supra*.

14. *tainted*] stained with guilt (Craig) ; disgraced (Gollancz),

17. *roads*] stages.

17-30. *At . . . peace*] Holinshed had this from Stow and he from some MS. of Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*. See Holinshed, iii. 755 : " in consideration of his infirmities, they caused him to tarrie all that day ; and the next daie he tooke his journie with master Kingston, and them of the gard, till he came to a house of the earle of "

Shrewesburies named Hardwike hall, where he laie all night verie evill at ease. The next daie he rode to Nottingham, and there lodged that night more sicke : and the next daie he rode to Leicester abbeie, and by the waie waxed so sicke that he was almost fallen from his mule ; so that it was night before he came to the abbeie of Leicester, where at his coming in at the gates, the abbat with all his convent [covent, Stow] met him with diverse torches light, whom they honourably received and welcomed."

19. *covent*] old form of convent, still found in " Covent Garden," and meaning a company especially of religious persons, and hence a monastery or nunnery, later a nunnery only.

About the hour of eight, which he himself
Foretold should be his last, full of repentance,
Continual meditations, tears and sorrows,

He gave his honours to the world again,
His blessed part to heaven, and slept in peace. 30

Kath. So may he rest ; his faults lie gently on him !

Yet thus far, Griffith, give me leave to speak him,
And yet with charity. He was a man
Of an unbounded stomach, ever ranking
Himself with princes ; one that by suggestion 35
Tied all the kingdom : simony was fair-play :

31. So . . . him'] So Pope ; two lines in Ff. *lie]* *lay* Rowe (ed. 2). 36.
Tied] *Ty'de* Ff 1-3 ; *ty'd* F 4 ; *Tyth'd* Hanmer ; *sway'd* Dodd conj. ; *Tir'd* or
Task'd Keightley conj. ; *Ruled* Gould conj.

27. *Foretold]* See Holinshed, iii. 755 : "incontinent the clock struck eight and then he gave up the ghost, and departed this present life: which caused some to call to remembrance how he said the daie before, that at eight of the clocke they should lose their master."

32. *speak him]* describe him. Cf. II. iv. 166 ; III. i. 125, *ante*.

33-44. *He . . . example]* See Holinshed, iii. 765 : "This cardinal . . . was of a great stomach, for he compted himselfe equall with princes, & by craftie suggestion gat into his hands innumerable treasure: he forced little on simonie, and was not pittifull, and stood affectionate in his own opinion: in open presence he would lie and saie untruth, and was double both in speech and meaning: he would promise much & perform little: he was vicious of his bodie, and gave the clergie evill example."

34. *stomach]* pride. The Clarendon ed. cites Psalm ci. 7, Prayer Book Version : "Whoso hath also a proud look and a high stomach." Cf. 2 *Henry VI.* II. i. 65 : "The winds grow high; so do your stomachs, lords." In Shakespeare there is no exact parallel; appetite for fighting, courage, seems the meaning in 2 *Henry IV.* I. i. 129. The usual meaning "resentment," does not suit the context here or in Holinshed; see extract in note on II. 93-44.

35, 36. *by suggestion . . . kingdom]* I do not understand this. Holinshed

is followed so closely in the rest of the speech that we should expect to find here words meaning "enriched himself by trickery." In Shakespeare "suggestion" seems to mean prompting, temptation or instigation. Schmidt says, "perhaps any underhand practice," and the Clarendon ed. glosses it here "crafty dealing," citing *Richard III.* III. II. 103 :—

"Then was I going prisoner to the Tower,

By the suggestion of the Queen's allies."

Prof. Case thinks there may be an allusion to such things as Wolsey's "suggestion" = crafty information regarding Buckingham's treason, and takes the sense to be "One that by his power to poison the king's ear kept the whole land in the bonds of fear and subjection." See also next note.

36. *Tied]* In default of a better conjecture, I would suggest *ty'd on*, a metaphor from birds of prey, for *tied all*; it is a little nearer Holinshed. Warburton's explanation of *tied* as the slang word meaning equalled is rejected by Farmer *calces jactando*, though it may derive some support from Farmer's own quotation from Hall : "Thei saied, the cardinall by visitacions, making of abbottes, probates of testaments, graunting of faculties, licences, and other pollyngs in his courtes legantines, had made his threasure *egall* with the kynges." If Hanmer's reading *tyth'd* were right, it might have been loosely used for

His own opinion was his law : i' the presence
 He would say untruths, and be ever double
 Both in his words and meaning : he was never,
 But where he meant to ruin, pitiful : 40
 His promises were, as he then was, mighty ;
 But his performance, as he is now, nothing :
 Of his own body he was ill, and gave
 The clergy ill example.

Grif. Noble madam,
 Men's evil manners live in brass ; their virtues 45
 We write in water. May it please your highness
 To hear me speak his good now ?

Kath. Yes, good Griffith ;
 I were malicious else.

Grif. This cardinal,

42. *is now*] *now* is Rowe.

plundered. Cf. *King John*, III. i. 154 : "no Italian priest shall tythe or toll in our dominions." The popular use of "decimate" supplies a parallel. I do not think public taxes are referred to, and a tax of one-tenth is not mentioned in the play. The Clarendon note is as follows : "The folios read *Ty'de* or *Ty'd*, and if this is the true reading it must signify that Wolsey brought the whole kingdom into a condition of bondage by his exactions and commissions 'gleaning all the land's wealth into one' (III. ii. 284) ; so that as was said at the time, 'if men should give their goodes by a Commission, then wer it worse than the taxes of Fraunce, and so England should be bond and not free.' Hall's Chronicle (ed. 1809, p. 696)."

37. *the presence*] the presence chamber, as in III. i. 17. Holinshed's expression "in open presence" seems to mean "at an audience" or "before the Court."

38, 39. *double . . . meaning*] i.e. he was given to falsehood and equivocation.

41, 42. *promises . . . performance*] Steevens compares Massinger, *Great Duke of Florence*, II. iii. : "Great men, Till they have gained their ends, are giants in Their promises ; but, those obtain'd, weak pygmies In their performance."

43. *Of . . . ill*] This is added, probably from Campian. See extract in note on II. 48-68, *infra*.

45. *live in brass*] This expression occurs in *Henry V.* IV. iii. 97. Many parallels to the thought have been cited ; e.g. Beaumont and Fletcher, *Philaster*, V. iii. : "all your better deeds shall be in water writ but this in marble" (Steevens) ; More, *History of Richard III.* : "Men use, if they have an evil turne, to write it in marble, but whoso doth us a good turne, we write it in duste"—More's *Works*, bl. i. 1557, p. 59 (Percy) ; *Julius Cæsar*, III. ii. 80 :—

"The evil that men do lives after them ;

The good is oft interred with their bones"

(Clarendon ed.).

48-68. *This . . . God*] See Holinshed, III. 756 : "This cardinall (as Edmund Campian in his historie of Ireland describeth him) was a man undoubtedly borne to honor : I thinke (saith he) some princes bastard, no butchers sonne, exceeding wise, faire spoken, high minded, full of revenge, vitious of his bodie, loftie to his enimies, were they never so big, to those that accepted and sought his freendship woonderfull courteous, a ripe schooleman, thrall to affections, brought a bed with flatterie, insatiable to get, and more princelie in bestowing, as appeareth by his two colleges at Ipswich and Oxenford, the one overthrowne with his fall, the other unfinished, and yet as it lieth for an house of students, considering all the

Though from an humble stock, undoubtedly
Was fashion'd to much honour from his cradle. 50

He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one ;

- Exceeding wise, fair-spoken and persuading :

Lofty and sour to them that lov'd him not,
But to those men that sought him, sweet as summer.

And though he were unsatisfied in getting, 55

- Which was a sin, yet in bestowing, madam,

He was most princely : ever witness for him

Those twins of learning that he rais'd in you,

Ipswich and Oxford ! one of which fell with him,

Unwilling to outlive the good that did it ; 60

50. *honour from his cradle.*] *honour, from his cradle* : Theobald ; *honor. From his cradle* Ff. 60. *good that did it*] *good he did it* Pope ; *good man did it* Collier MS. ; *good that rear'd it* Staunton ; *good that did it nourish* Keightley, reading *it outlive*. For others see Cam. Shaks.

appurtenances incomparable thorough Christendome, whereof Henry the eight is now called founder, because he let it stand. He held and injoied at once the bishopriks of Yorke, Duresme, & Winchester, the dignities of lord cardinall, legat, & chancellor, the abbeie of saint Albons, diverse priories, sundrie fat benefices In commendam, a great prefferer of his servants, an advancer of learning, stout in everie quarell, never happie till this his overthrow. Wherein he shewed such moderation, and ended so perfectlie, that the houre of his death did him more honor, than all the pompe of his life passed."

- 50. *Was . . . cradle*] In support of the reading of Ff. *From his cradle* He was a scholar, which he follows but doubtfully, Malone quotes Cavendish (I give the words from Singer's ed. p. 66): "truth it is, Cardinal Wolsey, . . . was an honest poor man's son . . . and being but a child, was very apt to learning ; by means whereof his parents, or his good friends and masters, conveyed him to the University of Oxford, where he prospered so in learning, that as he told me [in] his own person, he was called the boy-bachelor, forasmuch as he was made Bachelor of Arts at fifteen years of age, which was a rare thing and seldom seen." It should be remembered that any pupil however young or stupid could once be called a scholar, and that the words "and a ripe and good one" may be an afterthought ; the equivocal use of scholar being simi-

lar to that of "double" in "double Both in his words and meaning," l. 38, which means false in words and double in meaning. Steevens cites *Henry V.* 1. 1. 32 : "Never was such a sudden scholar made" (said of Henry's reformation) ; Boswell comments : "'To be a scholar from his cradle,' is being a very sudden scholar indeed." It must, however, be admitted that his "scholarship" was at least earlier than his "honour," for he was a Fellow of Magdalen when he was set in the stocks by one Sir Amyas Pawlet knight.

60. *the good . . . it*] the goodness, or perhaps the prosperity of the builder or the wealth that enabled it to be built. For "do" in the sense of "make," see *Twelfth Night*, 1. v. 253 : "is't not well done?—Excellently done, if God did all" (of Olivia's face). Malone who restored the reading of Ff. (for which Pope had substituted *the good he did it*) explains "that virtue which was the cause of its foundation," and adds "or perhaps 'the good' is licitiously used for the good man, 'the virtuous prelate who founded it'." "Good," says Steevens, citing l. 47 *supra*, "speak his good," "I believe, is put for goodness." But "good" frequently means prosperity, e.g. *Coriolanus*, III. iii. 112 : "My country's good," *ibid.* iv. ii. 22 : "Rome's good." The college at Ipswich fell with Wolsey (l. 59), but "the virtuous prelate" himself survived his fall and his "virtue" was increased by it, see ll. 64-66.

The other, though unfinish'd yet so famous,
 So excellent in art and still so rising,
 That Christendom shall ever speak his virtue.
 His overthrow heap'd happiness upon him ;
 For then, and not till then, he felt himself, 65
 And found the blessedness of being little :
 And, to add greater honours to his age
 Than man could give him, he died fearing God.

Kath. After my death I wish no other herald,
 No other speaker of my living actions, 70
 To keep mine honour from corruption,
 But such an honest chronicler as Griffith.
 Whom I most hated living, thou hast made me,
 With thy religious truth and modesty,
 Now in his ashes honour : peace be with him ! 75
 Patience, be near me still ; and set me lower :
 I have not long to trouble thee. Good Griffith,
 Cause the musicians play me that sad note
 I nam'd my knell, whilst I sit meditating
 On that celestial harmony I go to. 80

[*Sad and solemn music.*

Grif. She is asleep : good wench, let's sit down quiet,
 For fear we wake her : softly, gentle Patience.

The vision. Enter, solemnly tripping one after another, six personages, clad in white robes, wearing on their heads garlands of bays, and golden vizards on their faces ; branches of bays or palm in their hands. They first congee unto her, then dance ; and, at certain changes, the first two hold a spare garland over her head ; at which the other four make reverent curtsies ; then the two that held the garland deliver the same to the other next two, who

Stage direction 7. reverent] reverend Ff.

63. his virtue] Does this mean its excellence, viz. that of Christchurch, or Wolsey's who founded it and called it "Cardinal College"? Probably the latter.

70. living actions] what I did when alive.

74. modesty] moderation.

Stage direction, *The vision.* 5. congee] "Congee" has here the same meaning as "make reverent curtsies," below. The word occurs once again in Shakespeare but in the earlier sense—to bow oneself out, or take a formal leave. See

All's Well that Ends Well, iv. iii. 100 : "I have conged with the duke, done my adieu with his nearest." A still earlier meaning was to give or take permission, especially permission to depart.

Stage direction 5. at certain changes] "change" is probably the same as "figure" = a series of movements or division of a set dance. The only example in *New Eng. Dict.* is *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 209 : "Then, in our measure do but vouchsafe one change," doubtfully explained as "a round in dancing."

observe the same order in their changes, and holding the garland over her head: which done, they deliver the same garland to the last two, who likewise observe the same order: at which, as it were by inspiration, she makes in her sleep signs of rejoicing, and holdeth up her hands to heaven: and so in their dancing vanish, carrying the garland with them. The music continues.

Kath. Spirits of peace, where are ye? are ye all gone,
And leave me here in wretchedness behind ye?

Grif. Madam, we are here.

Kath. It is not you I call for: 85
Saw ye none enter since I slept?

Grif. None, madam.

Kath. No? Saw you not even now a blessed troop
Invite me to a banquet, whose bright faces
— Cast thousand beams upon me, like the sun?
They promis'd me eternal happiness, 90
And brought me garlands, Griffith, which I feel
I am not worthy yet to wear: I shall assuredly.

Grif. I am most joyful, madam, such good dreams
Possess your fancy.

Kath. Bid the music leave;
They are harsh and heavy to me. [*Music ceases.*]

Pat. Do you note 95
How much her grace is alter'd on the sudden?
How long her face is drawn! how pale she looks,
And of an earthy cold! Mark her eyes!

98. *earthy cold*] *earthly cold* Rowe (ed. 2); *earthy coldness* Collier, ed. 2 and MS.; *earthy colour* Dyce, ed. 2 (S. Walker conj.). *Mark*] *Observe* Pope; *Mark you* Capell; *Do you mark* Vaughan conj.

92. *I . . . assuredly*] This is one of the "Lines made metrical" by Bishop Wordsworth, who reads—"Alas! I am not worthy yet to wear." He dismisses the omitted words, "I shall assuredly," with the remark that "They are ungrammatical, and to my apprehension, very inconsistent with the character of the speaker." But Katharine's confidence may be ascribed to her faith in the heavenly vision, and if a change is to be made, it is simpler to print, with Hanmer, "Assuredly" as a separate line, and understand the words "wear them" after "I shall". Vaughan saw what Wordsworth did not, that the vision produces the feeling, not of unworthiness, but of salvation and future happiness; but he too ob-

jects to the last line. It is, he says, "out of grammar and out of measure and out of true significance." His conjectures are: "Which I feel I, am not worthy, yet wear shall assuredly." Or, less probably: "I, am not worthy yet, wear shall assuredly"; explaining "Garlands which I, who am not worthy of them, still shall wear," or "who am unworthy to wear them yet, feel confidently that I shall wear."

94. *Bid . . . leave*] *i.e.* Bid the musicians cease to play. See Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Captain*, III. iii. —

"You will never leave [*i.e.* cease speaking]

Till you be told how rude you are."

98. *cold*] *coldness*; it represents the Middle English *cáld*, a substantive.

Grif. She is going, wench : pray, pray.

Pat. Heaven comfort her !

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. An 't like your grace,—

Kath. You are a saucy fellow : 100

Deserve we no more reverence ?

Grif. You are to blame, 100

Knowing she will not lose her wonted greatness,

To use so rude behaviour : go to, kneel.

Mess. I humbly do entreat your highness' pardon ;

My haste made me unmannerly. There is staying 105

A gentleman, sent from the king, to see you.

Kath. Admit him entrance, Griffith : but this fellow

Let me ne'er see again. [*Exeunt Griffith and Messenger.*]

Re-enter GRIFFITH, with CAPUCIUS.

If my sight fail not,

You should be lord ambassador from the emperor,

My royal nephew, and your name Capucius. 110

Cap. Madam, the same ; your servant.

Kath. O, my lord,

The times and titles now are alter'd strangely

With me since first you knew me. But, I pray you,

What is your pleasure with me ?

Cap. Noble lady,

First, mine own service to your grace ; the next, 115

The king's request that I would visit you ;

113. *With . . . pray you*] So Rowe ; two lines in Ff.

102. *lose*] perhaps "lose sight of, forget," rather than "be deprived of." See note on II. i. 57.

105. *staying*] waiting. Cf. *Troilus and Cressida*, III. ii. 11.

107. *Admit him entrance*] Let him enter. As the Clarendon ed. notes, it is an expression unknown in Shakespeare.

110. *Capucius*] See Holinshed, iii. 795 : "The princesse Dowager heng at Kimbalton, fell into hir last sicknesse, whereof the king being advertised, appointed the emperors ambassador that was legier here with him named Eustachius Caputius, to go to visit hir, and to doo his commendations to hir, and will hir to be of good comfort. The ambassador with all diligence, did his dutie therein, comforting hir the

best he might : but she within six daies after, perceiving hir selfe to wax verie weake and feeble, and to feelee death approaching at hand, caused one of hir gentlewomen to write a letter to the king, commending to him hir daughter and hir, beseeching him to stand good father unto hir : and further desired him to have some consideration for hir gentlewomen that had served hir, and to see them bestowed in marriage. Further that it would please him to appoint that hir servants might have their due wages, and a yeeres wages beside. This in effect was all she requested, and so immediately hereupon she departed this life the eight of Januarie at Kimbalton aforesaid, and was buried at Peterborow."

Who grieves much for your weakness, and by me
Sends you his princely commendations,
And heartily entreats you take good comfort.

Kath. O my good lord, that comfort comes too late ; 120
'Tis like a pardon after execution :
That gentle physic, given in time, had cured me ;
But now I am past all comforts here but prayers.
— How does his highness ?

Cap. Madam, in good health.

Kath. So may he ever do ! and ever flourish, 125
When I shall dwell with worms, and my poor name
Banish'd the kingdom ! Patience, is that letter,
I caused you write, yet sent away ?

Pat. No, madam.
[Giving it to Katharine.]

Kath. Sir, I most humbly pray you to deliver
This to my lord the king.

Cap. Most willing, madam. 130

Kath. In which I have commended to his goodness
The model of our chaste loves, his young daughter,—
The dews of heaven fall thick in blessings on her !—
Beseeching him to give her virtuous breeding—
She is young and of a noble modest nature : 135
I hope she will deserve well—and a little
To love her for her mother's sake, that loved him,
Heaven knows how dearly. My next poor petition

129. *most*] *must* Rowe. 138. *Heaven . . . petition*] So Rowe (ed. 2) ; two lines : a Ff.

127. *that letter*] Polydore Vergil gives the letter as follows: " Domine mi rex marite semper charissime, salve. Iam aduenit hora mortis meæ, in quo temporis puncto, amor facit ut te paucis admoneam de salute animæ tuæ, quam debes cunctis mortalibus rebus antepondere, neglecta præ ea omni corporis cura, propter quam & me in multas miseras, & te ipsum in solitudines plures coniecisti: sed hoc tibi ignosco, ac Deus tibi ignoscat, tam uelim, quam precibus piis oro. Quod superest, commendo tibi filiam communem nostram, in quam, quæso, officium illud paterne totum conferas, quod ego a te alias desiderauim. Præterea precor summe, uti ancillas meas respicias, easque suo tempore bene locare nuptiis placeat, quod multum non est,

cum non sint nisi tres, & dare meis ministris stipendium debitum, atque in unum etiam annum ex tua gratia, benignitate, liberalitate futurum ne deserti vel inopes esse uideantur. Postremo unum illud testor: Oculi mei te solum desiderant. Vale."

132. *model*] image or representative (Malone). Cf. *Richard II.* i. ii. 28 :—

"In that thou seest thy wretched brother die,
Who was the model of thy father's life";

Beaumont and Fletcher, *Spanish Curate*, i. iii. :—

"They in a Cottage
With joy, behold the models of
their youth,"
i.e. their children.

Is that his noble grace would have some pity
 Upon my wretched women, that so long 140
 Have follow'd both my fortunes faithfully :
 Of which there is not one, I dare avow,—
 And now I should not lie—but will deserve,
 For virtue and true beauty of the soul,
 For honesty and decent carriage, 145
 A right good husband, let him be a noble :
 And, sure, those men are happy that shall have 'em.
 The last is, for my men ; they are the poorest,
 But poverty could never draw 'em from me ;
 That they may have their wages duly paid 'em, 150
 And something over to remember me by :
 If heaven had pleased to have given me longer life
 And able means, we had not parted thus.
 These are the whole contents : and, good my lord,
 By that you love the dearest in this world, 155
 As you wish Christian peace to souls departed,
 Stand these poor people's friend, and urge the king
 To do me this last right.

Cap. By heaven, I will,

Or let me lose the fashion of a man !

Kath. I thank you, honest lord. Remember me 160
 In all humility unto his highness :
 Say his long trouble now is passing
 Out of this world ; tell him, in death I bless'd him,
 For so I will. Mine eyes grow dim. Farewell,

143. *will deserve*] Ff 1, 2 ; *well deserve* Ff 3, 4 ; *well deserves* Hammer.
 146. *husband, let . . . noble*] Pope ; *husband, let . . . noble*, Rowe ; *husband*
 (*let . . . noble*) Ff ; *husband ; let . . . noble* ; Capell. 151. *by*] omitted Pope.
 162. *Say*] Ff ; *And tell him* Pope ; *Say to him* Keightley. *passing*] *passing*
from him Capell.

140. *my wretched women*] According to the letter quoted above there were only three. See Holinshed, iii. 790 : "At the suit of the ladie Katharine Dowager, a curse was sent from the pope, which cursed both the king and the realme. . . . Because it was knowne that the ladie Katharine Dowager had procured this curse of the pope, all the order of the court was broken ; for the duke of Suffolke being sent to hir as then lieng at Bugden beside Huntington, according to that he had in commandement, discharged a great sort of hir household servants, and yet left a convenient number to serve hir like a

princesse, which were sworne to serve hir not as queene but as princesse Dowager. Such as tooke that oth she utterlie refused, and would none of their service, so that she remained with the lesse number of servants about hir."

146. *let . . . noble*] Whalley proposed the comma after *husband* instead of the previous semicolon, and explained, "though he were even of noble extraction." The phrase is not Shakespearean ; *Richard II.* i. i. 59, cited by Steevens, is not really a parallel. The Clarendon ed. quotes from this play (i. iii. 4) : "Nay let 'em be unmanly."

My lord. Griffith, farewell. Nay, Patience, 165

You must not leave me yet: I must to bed;

Call in more women. When I am dead, good wench,

Let me be used with honour: strew me over

With maiden flowers, that all the world may know

I was a chaste wife to my grave; embalm me, 170

Then lay me forth; although unqueen'd, yet like

A queen, and daughter to a king, inter me.

I can no more.

[*Exeunt, leading Katharine.*]

169. *maiden flowers*] *i.e.* white and maiden blossom." Prof. Case flowers. In *1 Henry VI.* II. iv. 47, the compares "maiden strewments," *Ham-* white rose of York is called "this pale *let*, v. i. 255.

ACT V

SCENE I.—*London. A gallery in the palace.**Enter* GARDINER, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, *a Page with a torch before him, met by* SIR THOMAS LOVELL.*Gar.* It's one o'clock, 'boy, is't not?*Boy.*

It hath struck.

Gar. These should be hours for necessities,
 Not for delights; times to repair our nature
 With comforting repose, and not for us
 To waste these times. Good hour of night, Sir
 Thomas!

5

Whither so late?

Lov. Came you from the king, my lord?

Gar. I did, Sir Thomas, and left him at primero
 With the Duke of Suffolk.

Lov.

I must to him too,

Before he go to bed. I'll take my leave.

Gar. Not yet, Sir Thomas Lovell. What's the matter? 10
 It seems you are in haste: an if there be
 No great offence belongs to't, give your friend
 Some touch of your late business: affairs that walk,
 As they say spirits do, at midnight, have

London. A gallery . . .] Gallery . . . Capell; Before the Palace. Theobald. 6. *Whither*] Ff 3, 4; *Whether* Ff 1, 2.

Act V. Scene 1.] By Shakespeare (Spedding), by Massinger (Boyle).

2. *These*] Such hours as 1 P.M.

7. *primero*] A game of cards fashionable in the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries, introduced from Spain (perhaps by Katharine of Arragon) where it was called *primera*, or from Italy where its name was *primiera*. The statement in *New Eng. Dict.* that each card had thrice its ordinary value seems to apply only to the 7, 6, and 5. Each player held four cards, the best hand being a flush, viz. four of one suit, and the next 55. The Clarendon ed. cites Harington's *Nugæ*

Antiquæ (vol. i. p. 197, ed. 1779) for the story "of a game at primero between Henry VIII. and one Domingo or Dundego. The King held fifty-five, and supposing himself the winner, threw his cards on the table with great laughter. Domingo held flush, but seeing the King so merry, was courtier enough not to declare it." Falstaff dates his ill luck from the time when he forswore himself at this game (*Merry Wives of Windsor*, iv. v. 104).

13. *walk*] See *Macbeth*, II. i. 57:—"As from your graves, arise up and walk like sprites,
 To countenance this horror."

In them a wilder nature than the business 15
That seeks dispatch by day.

Lov. My lord, I love you ;
And durst commend a secret to your ear
Much weightier than this work. The queen's in labour,
They say, in great extremity ; and fear'd
She'll with the labour end.

Car. The fruit she goes with 20
I pray for heartily, that it may find
Good time, and live : but for the stock, Sir Thomas,
I wish it grubb'd up now.

Lov. Methinks I could
Cry the amen ; and yet my conscience says
She's a good creature, and, sweet lady, does 25
Deserve our better wishes.

Car. But, Sir, Sir,
Hear me, Sir Thomas : you're a gentleman
Of mine own way ; I know you wise, religious ;
And, let me tell you, it will ne'er be well,
'Twill not, Sir Thomas Lovell, take 't of me, 30
Till Cranmer, Cromwell, her two hands, and she,
Sleep in their graves.

Lov. Now, sir, you speak of two
The most remarked i' the kingdom. As for Cromwell,
Beside that of the jewel house, is made master
O' the rolls, and the king's secretary ; further, sir, 35
Stands in the gap and trade of more preferments,

18. *work*] word Rowe (ed. 2).
34. *is*] *he's* Theobald ; *he is* Capell.
tread for Warburton.

19. *and*] *and 'tis* Rowe (ed. 2) ; *'tis* Pope.
36. *trade of*] Ff 1-3 ; *trade* for F 4 ;

17. *commend*] entrust, deliver, as in
Love's Labour's Lost, III. i. 169 ; *All's
Well that Ends Well*, v. i. 31.

19. *fear'd*] feared for, as often.

22. *stock*] The contrast between
stock and fruit does not seem like
Shakespeare's work. Shakespeare has
stock and scion (*Winter's Tale*, IV. iv.
93 ; *Henry V.* III. v. 7) and tree and
fruit (*1 Henry IV.* II. iv. 471 ; *Romeo
and Juliet*, II. i. 35).

28. *way*] religious beliefs ; an anti-
cipation of the divergent paths taken
by Christians in England at the Re-
formation. See Acts xix. 9 : "spake
evil of that way before the multitude" ;
ibid. xxiv. 14 : "after the way which
they call heresy, so worship I God."

33. *remarked*] distinguished, not else-
where in Shakespeare.

34-36. *Beside . . . preferments*] See
Holinshed, III. 748 : "But at this
time [1530] diverse of his [Wolsey's]
servants departed from him to the king's
service, and in especial Thomas Crom-
well one of his chiefe counsell, and
chiefe doer for him in the suppression
of abbeies" ; *ibid.* p. 778 : "Thomas
Cromwell, maister of the king's jewell
house, & counsellor to the king, a
man newlie received into high favour"
[1533] ; p. 798 : "Thomas Cromwell
secretarie unto the king, and maister of
the rolls, was made lord keeper of the
privie seale" (1536). He was after-
wards (1537) made "knight of the

With which the time will load him. The archbishop
Is the king's hand and tongue; and who dare speak
One syllable against him?

Gar. Yes, yes, Sir Thomas,
There are that dare; and I myself have ventured 40
To speak my mind of him: and indeed this day
Sir, I may tell it you, I think I have
Incensed the lords o' the council that he is—
For so I know he is, they know he is—
A most arch-heretic, a pestilence 45
That does infect the land: with which they moved
Have broken with the king; who hath so far
Given ear to our complaint, of his great grace
And princely care foreseeing those fell mischiefs
Our reasons laid before him, hath commanded 50
To-morrow morning to the council-board
He be convented. He's a rank weed, Sir Thomas,

37. *time*] F 4; *Lime* Ff 1-3. 38. *hand and*] *hand* or Ff 3, 4. 41. *and*] omitted Pope. 43. *Incensed*] *Insens'd* Knight. 44. *For so*] *For, so* Vaughan conj. 50. *hath*] *he hath* Pope; *h'ath* Malone conj. 52. *convented*] *convened* Johnson.

garter" (p. 804) and (1540) "created earle of Essex, and ordeined great chamberleine of England" (p. 815).

36. *gap and trade*] Equivalent to the fair way or open road. Steevens compares *Richard II.* III. iii. 156: "in the king's highway. Some way of common trade"; and the Clarendon ed., Proverbs xxii. 6 (Geneva version, 1560): "Teach a childe in the trade of his way, and when he is olde, he shal not depart from it."

36. *mo*] See II. iii. 97, note.

37. *the time*] the tendencies of the age, course of events.

43. *Incensed*] Malone explains: "I have roused the lords of the council by suggesting to them that he is a most arch heretick; I have thus incited them against him." Steevens has "prompted, set on." So in *King Richard III.* III. i. 152:—

"Think you, my lord, this little
prating York

Was not incensed by his subtle
mother

To taunt and scorn you!"

This same passage is adduced by Nares in favour of the meaning "inform," *Glossary in voc.*: "Incense v., more properly *Insense*. To, put sense into,

to instruct, inform. A provincial expression still quite current in Staffordshire, and probably Warwickshire, whence we may suppose that Shakespeare had it." It is still heard provincially in Ireland, e.g. "I have insensed it into him," i.e. made him understand it.

44. *so*] such, i.e. a heretic, or else as Vaughan explains, "since." The former is perhaps more in keeping with Gardiner's impatient manner.

47. *Have broken with*] The fuller phrase is, to break one's heart or break one's mind, i.e. to disclose one's thoughts or intentions. See *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, III. i. 59:—

"I am to break with thee of some
affairs

That touch me near";

Julius Cæsar, II. i. 150: "O name him not: let us not break with him." Beaumont and Fletcher, *Rule a Wife*, etc. I. i. :—

"Belike the Lady Margaret has
some business

She would break to us in private."

52. *convented*] summoned. See *Measure for Measure*, v. i. 158; *Coriolanus*, II. ii. 58.

And we must root him out. From your affairs
 I hinder you too long : good night, Sir Thomas.
Lov. Many good nights, my lord : I rest your servant. 55
 [Exeunt Gardiner and Page.

Enter KING and SUFFOLK.

King. Charles, I will play no more to-night ;
 My mind 's not on 't ; you are too hard for me.
Suf. Sir, I did never win of you before.
King. But little, Charles,
 Nor shall not, when my fancy 's on my play. 60
 Now, Lovell, from the queen what is the news ?
Lov. I could not personally deliver to her
 What you commanded me, but by her woman
 I sent your message ; who return'd her thanks
 • • In the great'st humbleness, and desired your highness 65
 Most heartily to pray for her.
King. What say'st thou, ha ?
 To pray for her ? what, is she crying out ?
Lov. So said her woman, and that her sufferance made
 Almost each pang a death.
King. Alas, good lady !
Suf. God safely quit her of her burthen, and 70
 With gentle travail, to the gladding of
 Your highness with an heir !
King. 'Tis midnight, Charles ;
 Prithee, to bed ; and in thy prayers remember
 • The estate of my poor queen. Leave me alone ;
 For I must think of that which company 75
 Would not be friendly to.
Suf. I wish your highness
 A quiet night, and my good mistress will
 Remember in my prayers.
King. Charles, good night.
 [Exit Suffolk.

56. Scene II. Pope. more] more with you S. Walker conj. 78. good]
 a good Pope.

68. sufferance] suffering, pain. Cf. *Pericles*, where Shakespeare's hand is only partially to be traced."
 11. iii. 15, *supra* ; *Measure for Measure*, 74. estate] condition. Cf. *Winter's*
 11. iv. 167. *Tale*, v. ii. 159 : " Being in so prosperous
 71. gladding] See 11. iv. 196. The estate as we are " ; *King Lear*, v.
 Clarendon ed. notes that " elsewhere iii. 209 : " Having seen me in my
 'glad' for 'gladden is only found in worst estate."
 3 *Henry VI.*, *Titus Andronicus*, and

Enter SIR ANTHONY DENNY.

Well, sir, what follows?

Den. Sir, I have brought my lord the archbishop, 80
As you commanded me.

King. Ha! Canterbury?

Den. Ay, my good lord.

King. 'Tis true; where is he, Denny?

Den. He attends your highness' pleasure.

King. Bring him to us.

[*Exit Denny.*]

Lov. [*Aside*] This is about that which the bishop spake:

I am happily come hither. 85

Re-enter DENNY with CRANMER.

King. Avoid the gallery. [*Lovell seems to stay.*] Ha! I have
said. Be gone.

What! [*Exeunt Lovell and Denny.*]

Cran. [*Aside*] I am fearful: wherefore frowns he thus?

'Tis his aspect of terror. All's not well.

King. How now, my lord! you do desire to know

Wherefore I sent for you.

Cran. [*Kneeling*] It is my duty 90

To attend your highness' pleasure.

King. Pray you, arise,

My good and gracious Lord of Canterbury.

Come, you and I must walk a turn together;

I have news to tell you: come, come, give me your
hand.

Ah, my good lord, I grieve at what I speak, 95

And am right sorry to repeat what follows:

I have, and most unwillingly, of late

Heard many grievous, I do say, my lord,

Grievous complaints of you; which, being consider'd,

86. *Avoid . . . gone*] So Capell; two lines in Ff. 87. *Scene III.* Pope.
fearful] much *fearful* Hanmer. 89, 90. *How . . . you*] So Rowe (ed. 2);
three lines in Ff. 94. *I . . . hand*] So Pope; two lines in Ff. *I have*]
I've Pope. *come, come*] *come* Pope.

86. *Avoid*] go out of, leave. Cf. *Coriolanus*, iv. v. 25: "What have
you to do here, fellow? Pray you
avoid the house." Generally used
absolutely as in *Cymbeline*, i. i. 125:
"Thou basest thing, avoid! hence,
from my sight." The original mean-
ing is "to empty."

87. *fearful*] full of fear, afraid. Cf.
3 Henry VI. ii. v. 130:—
"like a brace of greyhounds
Having the fearful flying hare in
sight";
and see note in this series on *Venus*
and *Adonis*, 677.

Have mov'd us and our council, that you shall 100

This morning come before us ; where, I know,

You cannot with such freedom purge yourself,

But that, till further trial in those charges

Which will require your answer, you must take

Your patience to you and be well contented 105

To make your house our Tower : you a brother of us,

It fits we thus proceed, or else no witness

Would come against you.

Cran. [*Kneeling*] I humbly thank your highness ;

And am right glad to catch this good occasion

Most thoroughly to be winnow'd, where my chaff 110

And corn shall fly asunder : for, I know,

There's none stands under more calumnious tongues

Than I myself, poor man.

King. Stand up, good Canterbury :

Thy truth and thy integrity is rooted

In us, thy friend : give me thy hand, stand up : 115

Prithee, let's walk. Now, by my holidame,

What manner of man are you ? My lord, I look'd

You would have given me your petition, that

I should have ta'en some pains to bring together

Yourself and your accusers, and to have heard you, 120

Without indurance further.

106. *you a brother of us,*] *you, a Brother of us* F 1; *you, a Brother of us,* F 4, *you a brother, us* Vaughan conj. *you] were you* Long MS.; *to* Collier MS.
113. *poor man.* King] King. *Poor man* Grey conj. 116. *holidame]* *holydame* Ff; *holy Dame* Rowe. 121. *Without indurance]* *While out of durance* Daniel conj. *indurance further]* *indurance, further* Capell.

106. *a brother]* You being one of the council, it is necessary to imprison you, that the witnesses against you may not be deterred (Johnson).

110. *thoroughly]* thoroughly. Cf. *Winter's Tale*, II. i. 99 :—

"You scarce can right me thoroughly then to say

You did mistake."

116. *holidame]* Original "haligdom," the condition of being holy, holiness; hence a sanctuary, or a holy relic. "The substitution of *-dam*, *-dame* in the suffix was apparently due to popular etymology, the word being taken to denote 'Our Lady'" (*New Eng. Dict.*).

121. *without endurance further]* without imprisonment in addition. The word, *indurance* or *endurance*, occurs in *Much Ado About Nothing*,

II. i. 246: "past the indurance of a block" (F 1), and in *Pericles*, v. i. 137 :—

"Tell thy story;

If thine consider'd prove the thousandth part

Of my endurance, thou art a man."

If these passages were parallel, the meaning would be "without having to endure more than the annoyance of being accused." But Steevens is probably right in glossing the word "confinement," which is its meaning in the source of this scene—Fox, *Acts and Monuments*. "The council have requested me to suffer them to commit you to the Tower. . . . I had thought you would rather have sued to us to have taken the pains to have heard you and your accusers together for your trial, without any such *indurance*."

Cran.

Most dread liege,

The good I stand on is my truth and honesty :
 If they shall fail, I, with mine enemies,
 Will triumph o'er my person ; which I weigh not,
 Being of those virtues vacant. I fear nothing 125
 What can be said against me.

King.

Know you not

How your state stands i' the world, with the whole world?
 Your enemies are many, and not small ; their practices
 Must bear the same proportion ; and not ever
 The justice and the truth o' the question carries 130
 The due o' the verdict with it : at what ease
 Might corrupt minds procure knaves as corrupt
 To swear against you? Such things have been done.
 You are potently opposed, and with a malice
 Of as great size. Ween you of better luck, 135
 I mean, in perjured witness, than your master,
 Whose minister you are, whiles here he lived
 Upon this naughty earth? Go to, go to ;

122. *good*] *ground* Rann (Johnson conj.). 123. *fail*] *fall* Rowe (ed. 2).
 126. *What*] *Which* Johnson. 128. *enemies are*] *foes are* Pope ; *enemies* Capell.
 131. *due*] *Ff* 3, 4 ; *dew* *Ff* 1, 2. 137. *whiles*] *while* Pope.

Capell pointed with a comma after "indurance" (which he explained as imprisonment). This would give the sense, "that I should have heard you speak at greater length, instead of sending you to the Tower."

122. *The . . . on*] The good defence on which I rest and to which I trust. Clarendon ed.

124, 125. *which . . . vacant*] I do not value my person if it is destitute of truth and honesty. For "weigh" cf. *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 26, 27 : "You are a light wench. Indeed I weigh not you, and therefore light.—You weigh me not? O, that's you care not for me."

125. *nothing*] not at all, in no respect, as in *Twelfth Night*, II. iii. 104 : "She's nothing allied to your disorders." *Winter's Tale*, iv. iv. 392 : "I cannot speak so well, nothing so well ; no, nor mean better." *Julius Caesar*, I. ii. 162 : "that you do love me, I am nothing jealous." Johnson read *Which* for *What*, i.e. none of the things which may be said.

128. *their practices . . . proportion*]

Their plots and devices must be correspondingly great and many.

129. *ever*] always, as in *Hamlet*, iv. iv. 43 :—

"A thought which, quarter'd, hath but one part wisdom

And ever three parts coward."

129-131. *not ever . . . with it*] the innocence of a prisoner does not always ensure his acquittal. "The question" is the case or cause, and "the due of the verdict" may mean the due verdict, what is due to a good cause, as regards the verdict. The Clarendon ed. explains "the right verdict."

131. *at what ease*] How easily, seeming an extension of the phrase "at ease."

134. *You . . . opposed*] You have powerful enemies. So "opposer" is used for opponent in a duel, "opposition" for combat.

136. *witness*] evidence or testimony. Cf. *2 Henry VI.* III. i. 168 : "I shall not want [*i.e.* be without] false witness to condemn me."

137. *whiles*] while ; it is the old genitive used as an adverb and connec-

You take a precipice for no leap of danger,
And woo your own destruction.

Cran. God and your majesty 140
Protect mine innocence, or I fall into
The trap is laid for me!

King. Be of good cheer ;
They shall no more prevail than we give way to
Keep comfort to you ; and this morning see
You do appear before them. If they shall chance, 145
In charging you with matters, to commit you,
The best persuasions to the contrary
Fail not to use, and with what vehemency
The occasion shall instruct you : if entreaties
Will render you no remedy, this ring 150
Deliver them, and your appeal to us
There make before them. Look, the good man weeps !
He's honest, on mine honour. God's blest mother !
I swear he is true-hearted, and a spul
None better in my kingdom. Get you gone, 155
And do as I have bid you. [*Exit Cranmer.*] He has
strangled
His language in his tears.

Enter Old Lady : LOVELL following.

Gent. [*Within*] Come back : what mean you ?

Old L. I'll not come back ; the tidings that I bring
Will make my boldness manners. Now, good angels
Fly o'er thy royal head, and shade thy person 160
Under their blessed wings !

King. Now, by thy looks
I guess thy message. Is the queen deliver'd ?
Say, ay, and of a boy.

Old L. Ay, ay, my liege ;
And of a lovely boy : the God of heaven

156, 157. *He . . . tears*] So Hanmer ; one line in *Ff.* 157. *His language*]
all his language *Ff* 2-4 ; *All language* Hanmer.

tive. Cf. *Much Ado About Nothing*,
iv. i. 221 :—

“ it so falls out,
That what we have we prize not to
the worth
Whiles we enjoy it.”

138. *naughty*] wicked. Cf. *Merchant*
of Venice, v. i. 91 : “ So shines a good
10

deed in a naughty world” ; 2 *Henry*
VI. ii. i. 167 : “ A sort of naughty
persons, lewdly bent.”

157. *Old Lady*] “ This, I suppose,”
says Steevens, “ is the same old cat
that appears with Anne Bullen,” ii. iii.
supra.

Both now and ever bless her ! 'tis a girl, 165
 Promises boys hereafter. Sir, your queen
 Desires your visitation, and to be
 Acquainted with this stranger : 'tis as like you
 As cherry is to cherry.

King. Lovell !

Lov. Sir ?

King. Give her an hundred marks. I'll to the queen. 170
 [Exit.

Old L. An hundred marks ! By this light, I'll ha' more.
 An ordinary groom is for such payment.
 I will have more, or scold it out of him.
 Said I for this, the girl was like to him ?
 I will have more, or else unsay't ; and now, 175
 While it is hot, I'll put it to the issue. [Exit.

SCENE II.—*Before the council-chamber.*

Pursuivants, Pages, &c., attending.

Enter CRANMER, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Cran. I hope I am not too late ; and yet the gentleman
 That was sent to me from the council pray'd me
 To make great haste. All fast ? what means this ? Ho !
 Who waits there ? Sure, you know me ?

Enter Keeper.

Keep. Yes, my lord ;
 But yet I cannot help you. 5

Cran. Why ?

170. *Give . . . queen*] So Pope ; two lines in Ff. 174-176. *Said . . . issue*
 So Steevens. In Ff the lines end to him ? *Ile . . . hot . . . issue.* 174. *like*
 to] *like* Pope. 175. *I will*] Steevens ; *Ile* or *I'le* Ff. and now] *now*
 Pope. 176. *it is*] Steevens ; 'tis Ff. Scene II.] Scene IV. Pope.

165. *her*] Johnson doubts whether this refers to the queen or the girl. Boswell thinks "the humour of the passage consists in the talkative old lady, who had in her hurry said it was a boy, adding *bless her* before she corrects her mistake."

167. *Desires . . . visitation*] Wishes you to go to see her. For visitation = visit, see i. i. 179, *supra* ; and *The Tempest*, III. i. 32.

170. *marks*] A mark was a sum, not a coin. See Norden, *Surv. Dial.* iv. 173 (1607) : "Thirteene shillings and

four pence, or a Marke of money." Mark was originally a weight, 8 oz., and at 20 sterling pennies to the ounce, the value was 160 pence = two-thirds of the £ sterling. See *New Eng. Dict.*

174. *Said . . . him*] Compare Rowley, *When you see me you know me*, ed. Elze, p. 10 : "but do ye hear, wenches, she that brings the first tidings, however it fall out, let her be sure to say the child's like his father, or else she shall have nothing."

Act V. Scene II.] By Fletcher (*Spedding and Boyle*).

Enter DR. BUTTS.

Keep. Your grace must wait till you be call'd for.

Cran. So.

Butts. [*Aside*] This is a piece of malice. I am glad

I came this way so happily: the king

Shall understand it presently.

[*Exit.*

Cran. [*Aside*] 'Tis Butts,

10

The king's physician: as he pass'd along,

How earnestly he cast his eyes upon me!

Pray heaven, he sound not my disgrace! For certain,

This is of purpose laid by some that hate me—

God turn their hearts! I never sought their malice— 15

To quench mine honour: they would shame to make me

Wait else at door, a fellow-councillor,

'Mong boys, grooms and lackeys. But their pleasures

• Must be fulfill'd, and I attend with patience.

Enter the KING and BUTTS at a window above.

Butts. I'll show your grace the strangest sight—

13. *sound*] *found* Rowe. 18. 'Mong . . . pleasures] So Rowe (ed. 2); two lines in Ff. *boys*] *footboys* Anon. conj.; *pages* Anon. conj. (from Fox). *grooms*] *and grooms* Rowe (ed. 2).

9. *so happily*] Fox's *Acts and Monuments* is here followed, but that Dr. Butts's coming was not accidental is shown in the Clarendon ed. by a quotation from the account given by Morice, Cranmer's secretary, *Narratives of the Reformation*, Camden Soc., pp. 256, 257: "The next mornynge, according to the kynges monition and my lorde Cranmer's expectation, the counsaile sent for hym by viii of the clocke in the mornynge; and when he came to the counsaile chamber doore, he was not permitted to enter into the counsaile chamber, but stode without the doore emonges serving men and lackeys above thre quarters of an hower, many counsellors and other men now and than going in and oute. The matter semed strange as I than thoughte, and therefore I wente to doctor Buttes and tolde hym the maner of the thing, who by and by came and kepe my lorde company."

13. *sound*] *proclaim*, as in *King John*, iv. ii. 48:—

"I, as one that am the tongue
To sound the purposes of all their
hearts"

(Clarendon ed.); fathom, Schmidt; cf. *Merry Wives*, II. i. 246: "I have a disguise to sound Falstaff."

19. *at a window above*] On this Steevens notes: "The suspicious vigilance of our ancestors contrived windows which overlooked the insides of chapels, halls, kitchens, passages, &c. Some of these convenient peep-holes may still be found in colleges, and such ancient houses as have not suffered from the reformations of modern architecture. Among Andrew Borde's instructions for building a house (see his *Dietarie of Health*), is the following: 'Many of the chambers to have a view into the chapel.' Again in a letter from Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1573: 'And if it please her majestie, she may come in through my gallerie, and see the disposition of the hall in dynner time, at a window opening thereunto.' See Mr. Seward's *Anecdotes of Some Distinguished Persons*, vol. iv. p. 270. Without a previous knowledge of this custom, Shakespeare's scenery, in the present instance, would be obscure."

King. What's that, Butts? 20

Butts. I think your highness saw this many a day.

King. Body o' me, where is it?

Butts. There, my lord :

The high promotion of his grace of Canterbury ;
Who holds his state at door, 'mongst pursuivants,
Pages and footboys.

King. Ha ! 'tis he, indeed : 25

Is this the honour they do one another ?

'Tis well there's one above 'em yet. I had thought

They had parted so much honesty among 'em,

At least good manners, as not thus to suffer

A man of his place and so near our favour 30

To dance attendance on their lordships' pleasures,

And at the door too, like a post with packets.

By holy Mary, Butts, there's knavery : . .

Let 'em alone, and draw the curtain close ;

We shall hear more anon. [Exeunt.

SCENE III.—*The council-chamber.*

Enter LORD CHANCELLOR, places himself at the upper end of the table on the left hand ; a seat being left void above him, as for CANTERBURY'S seat ; DUKE OF SUFFOLK, DUKE OF NORFOLK, SURREY, LORD CHAMBERLAIN, GARDINER, seat themselves in order on each side. CROMWELL at lower end, as secretary. Keeper at the door.

Chan. Speak to the business, master secretary :

Why are we met in council ?

22. *Body o' me*] Pope ; *Body a Ff.* Scene III.] Cam. Edd. ; Scene v. Pope ; omitted Ff. The council-chamber] Reed ; The council Theobald ; A Council Table brought in with Chayres and Stooles, and placed under the State Ff. Enter . . . secretary] Ff. Keeper at the door] Cam. Edd.

22. *Body o' me*] An exclamation of Henry's in Rowley's *When you see me you know me* (ed. Elze), p. 67 :—

"Body o' me, is she not 'rested yet?"

and p. 69 :—

"Body o' me, what everlasting knaves

Are these that wrong thee thus!" (Clarendon ed.).

24. *pursuivants*] messengers, or, possibly, warrant-officers.

28. *parted*] "We should now say — 'They had shared,' &c., i.e. 'had so much honesty among them'" (Steevens).

32. *post*] letter-carrier, so called from travelling between two places where horses were posted, i.e. stationed, or through a succession of such stations with relays of horses. Prof. Case cites Haughton, *Englishmen for My Money*, II. i. (Hazlitt's Dodsley, x. 489) : "Enter Post"; *ibid.* 492, "Enter a Post."

Act V. Scene III.] By Fletcher (Spedding); II. I-II3 by Massinger, II. II4 to end by Fletcher (Boyle).

Lord Chancellor] The citation of Cranmer (? 1544) is here inserted between the birth and the baptism of Elizabeth, i.e. between 7 September

Crom. Please your honours,
The chief cause concerns his grace of Canterbury.

Gar. Has he had knowledge of it?

Crom. Yes.

Nor. Who waits there?

Keep. Without, my noble lords?

Gar. Yes.

Keep. My lord archbishop; 5
And has done half an hour, to know your pleasures.

Chan. Let him come in.

Keep. Your grace may enter now.

[*Cranmer enters and approaches the council-table.*]

Chan. My good lord archbishop, I'm very sorry

To sit here at this present and behold

That chair stand empty: but we all are men, 10

• • In our own natures frail and capable

Of our flesh; few are angels: out of which frailty

3. *chief*] omitted Pope; *chiefest* Capell. *cause*] omitted Anon. conj. *concerns*] 'cerns Lettsom conj. 11. *frail and capable*] *culpable and frail* Keightley conj.; *frail and fallible* Cartwright conj. 11, 12. *and . . . angels*] *and culpable: Those frailty-free are angels* Theobald conj. *and capable of our flesh,*] Capell (Ff have comma after *flesh*). *and capable Of frailty*, Pope; *incapable; Of our flesh*, Malone; *and culpable: Of our flesh*, Mason conj.; *and culpable Of our flesh*; Collier (ed. 2 and MS.); *incapable Of our flesh*; Wilms-hurst (*Notes and Queries*, 1880).

and 11 September, 1533. At this time no one held the title of Lord Chancellor. It was held by Wolsey till 18 November, 1529, and by Sir Thomas More from 25 November, 1529, till 16 May, 1532 (Theobald). Sir Thomas Audley was appointed Lord Keeper, 20 May, 1533, but did not obtain the title of Lord Chancellor till the January after the birth of Elizabeth (Malone). "If the date of Cranmer's appearance before the Council was 1544 or 1545, the Chancellor was Sir Thomas Wriothesly, afterwards Earl of Southampton, the grandfather of Shakespear's friend" (Clarendon ed.).

1. *secretary*] Cromwell was beheaded, 28 July, 1540.

3. *The . . . Canterbury*] Pope omitted *chief*. Lettsom proposed 'cerns for concerns, comparing *Taming of the Shrew*, v. i. 77.

4. *Has . . . knowledge*] Does he know? has he been informed? Cf. *Coriolanus*, v. i. 61: "I shall ere long have knowledge of my success"; *Winter's Tale*, II. ii. 2: "Let him have knowledge who I am."

8. *I'm very sorry*] Compare Brandon's words to Buckingham, I. i. 204, 205.

9. *at this present*] sc. time. Cf. *Twelfth Night*, I. v. 253: "Such a one I was this present"; *Winter's Tale*, I. ii. 192:—

"even at this present,

Now while I speak this."

11, 12. *and capable . . . angels*] The best explanation of the text is the Clarendon note, "susceptible of being influenced by our fleshly nature. 'Capable of,' which means sensitive to, occurs more than once. See *All's Well that Ends Well*, I. i. 106:—

'Heart too capable

Of every line and trick of his sweet favour';

and *King John*, II. i. 476:—

'Urge them while their souls
Are capable of this ambition.'"

For this sense see also *The Tempest*, I. ii. 353:—

"Which any print of goodness will
not take,

• Being capable of all ill"

[i.e. able to receive an impression from].

And want of wisdom, you, that best should teach us,
 Have misdemean'd yourself, and not a little,
 Toward the king first, then his laws, in filling 15
 The whole realm, by your teaching and your chaplains,—
 For so we are inform'd,—with new opinions,
 Divers and dangerous ; which are heresies,
 And, not reform'd, may prove pernicious.

Gar. Which reformation must be sudden too, 20
 My noble lords ; for those that tame wild horses
 Pace 'em not in their hands to make 'em gentle,
 But stop their mouths with stubborn bits and spur 'em,
 Till they obey the manage. If we suffer,
 Out of our easiness and childish pity 25

16. *chaplains*] *chaplains'* Vaughan conj.

But from what follows, "out of which frailty and want of wisdom," we should (as Malone saw) expect instead of "capable," etc., some phrase meaning not "vicious" but "unwise," something to correspond with "want of wisdom" as "frail" corresponds with "frailty," e.g.

"In our own natures frail, and capable

Of folly. Few are angels."

This would give the sense required, but would leave l. 12 little less lumbering than at present. Malone regarded *and capable* as an error of the transcriber's ear, and read *incapable*, followed by a semicolon, in the sense of "unintelligent," comparing *Hamlet*, iv. vii. 179: "As one incapable [*i.e.* unintelligent] of her own distress"; and Marston, *Scourge of Villanie*, 1599:—

"To be perus'd by all the dung-scum rabble

Of thin-brain'd ideots, dull incapable";

adding that Minshew in his dictionary, 1617, renders the word by *indocilis*. *New Eng. Dict.* has examples of "incapable" used absolutely in this sense: *Richard III.* ii. ii. 18:—

"Incapable and shallow Innocents

You cannot guess who caus'd your Father's death";

and Cockeram, 1623: "*Incapable*, which cannot conceive, a foole." Malone probably supposed "Of our flesh, few" etc., to mean that few among men are angels (in strength and wisdom). But thus isolated by beginning a new clause,

l. 12 seems to labour worse than ever. It might be better to read with Wilmhurst, *incapable of our flesh*, and explain "unintelligent as regards, or with respect to, our flesh, in which case *Of our flesh* would mean much the same as 'In our own natures' in the previous line."

16. *your chaplains*] According to Vaughan, who conjectures *chaplains'*, "by your teaching and your chaplains," does not mean "by means of your teaching and by means of your chaplains," but "by means of your own teaching and the teaching of your chaplains." The apostrophe as the sign of the genitive was not used in Shakespeare's time; but Vaughan's distinction does not really affect the meaning. See Fox, vol. viii. p. 24: "the enormity whereof they could not impute to any so much, as to the archbishop of Canterbury, who by his own preaching and his chaplains had filled the whole realm full of divers pernicious heresies"; and on the same page: "for that you and your chaplains (as information is given us) have taught and preached, and thereby sown within the realm, such a number of execrable heresies."

22. *Pace . . . hands*] Do not train them by going afoot and regulating their movements by a long rein.

24. *Till . . . manage*] Till they are willing to go through their various exercises. See *As You Like It*, 1*vi.* 13: "His horses are bred [*i.e.* trained] better . . . they are taught their manage."

To one man's honour, this contagious sickness,
 Farewell all physic: and what follows then?
 Commotions, uproars, with a general taint
 Of the whole state: as of late days our neighbours,
 The upper Germany, can dearly witness, 30
 Yet freshly pitied in our memories.

- Cran.* My good lords, hitherto, in all the progress
 Both of my life and office, I have labour'd,
 And with no little study, that my teaching
 And the strong course of my authority 35
 Might go one way, and safely; and the end
 Was ever to do well: nor is there living,
 I speak it with a single heart, my lords,
 A man that more detests, more stirs against,
 Both in his private conscience and his place, 40
 Defacers of a public peace, than I do.
 Pray heaven, the king may never find a heart
 With less allegiance in it! Men that make
 Envy and crooked malice nourishment
 Dare bite the best. I do beseech your lordships, 45
 That, in this case of justice, my accusers,
 Be what they will, may stand forth face to face,
 And freely urge against me.

39. *stirs*] *strives* Collier (ed. 2 and MS.).

41. *of a*] *of the* Rowe.

29-31. *as . . . memories*] See Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Pratt, viii. 29: "Notwithstanding, not long after that, certain of the council, whose names need not to be repeated, by the enticement and provocation of his [Cranmer's] ancient enemy the bishop of Winchester, and others of the same sect, attempted the king against him, declaring plainly, that the realm was so infected with heresies and heretics, that it was dangerous for his highness further to permit it unreformed, lest peradventure by long suffering, such contention should arise and ensue in the realm among his subjects, that thereby might spring horrible commotions and uproars, like as in some parts of Germany it did long ago." According to Grey, this is an allusion to "the heresy of Thomas Muntzer [Münzer] which sprang up in Saxony in the years 1521 and 1522." The rising of the Peasants under Münzer took place in 1524; others refer

to that of the Anabaptists in Münster, in 1535.

38. *a single heart*] A heart void of duplicity or guile (Malone). It is a scriptural expression; see Acts ii. 46 (Reed).

39. *more stirs against*] Is more roused, or perhaps as the Clarendon ed. explains, is more active, against. See *Richard II.* i. ii. 3: "To stir against the butchers of his life," and (in an active sense) *King Lear*, ii. iv. 277:—

"If it be you that stir these daughters' hearts
 Against their father."

47. *Be . . . will*] No matter who they may be, whoever they are. See ii. i. 65, *supra*; *1 Henry VI.* v. iii. 44; *Merchant of Venice*, ii. ii. 56: "Well, let his father be what a' will."

48. *urge*] Press their accusations. The word is not used absolutely elsewhere in Shakespeare.

Suf.

Nay, my lord,

That cannot be : you are a councillor,
And, by that virtue, no man dare accuse you. 50

Gar. My lord, because we have business of more moment

We will be short with you. 'Tis his highness' pleasure,
And our consent, for better trial of you,
From hence you be committed to the Tower ;
Where, being but a private man again, 55
You shall know many dare accuse you boldly,
More than, I fear, you are provided for.

Cran. Ah, my good Lord of Winchester, I thank you ;

You are always my good friend ; if your will pass,
I shall both find your lordship judge and juror, 60
You are so merciful. I see your end ;

'Tis my undoing. Love and meekness, lord,
Become a churchman better than ambition :
Win straying souls with modesty again,
Cast none away. That I shall clear myself, 65
Lay all the weight ye can upon my patience,
I make as little doubt as you do conscience
In doing daily wrongs. I could say more,
But reverence to your calling makes me modest.

Gar. My lord, my lord, you are a sectary ; 70

That's the plain truth : your painted gloss discovers,
To men that understand you, words and weakness.

72. *you, words*] *your words* Long MS.

50. *By that virtue*] By virtue of that
i.g. your being a Privy Councillor.
"By virtue of your office" occurs in
Much Ado About Nothing, III. iii. 54.

64. *modesty*] moderation, as "mo-
dest" is, moderate, I. 69, *infra*. See also
II. ii. 137, and IV. ii. 74, *supra*.

66. *Lay . . . patience*] How ever you
may try my patience, *sc.* by bringing
false charges against me.

70. *sectary*] *cf.* I. 80 :—

"A favourer
Of this new sect."

Elsewhere in Shakespeare only in *King
Lear*, I. ii. 164, where "a sectary
astronomical" means a student of
astrology.

71. *painted gloss*] It is questionable
whether "gloss" is here the Teutonic
word originally meaning brightness,
and hence superficial goodness or
beauty, or the Greek word *tongue*,
hence a term needing explanation, the
explanation itself, and finally a sophisti-

cal interpretation of anything, flattering
or hypocritical speech. Johnson takes
the former view, explaining, "this fair
outside" ; the Clarendon ed. the later,
"a highly coloured, artificial comment,
which conceals the real meaning of the
speaker as a painted mask conceals the
face." "Gloss" in the sense of surface
lustre is not uncommon in Shakespeare,
but it occurs only once in the sense of
disingenuous speech, *viz.* in *Love's
Labour's Lost*, IV. iii. 370 : "Now to
plain dealing : lay these gloses by."
The verb *glose* or *gloze* is less rare.
"Painted" connotes unreality. *Cf.*
Love's Labour's Lost, II. i. 14 : "My
beauty, though but mean, needs not the
painted flourish of your praise" ; *ibid.*
IV. iii. 239 : "painted rhetoric" ; and
Hamlet, III. i. 53, where "my deed"
is contrasted with "my most painted
word."

71. *discovers*] uncovers, reveals. *Cf.*
Two Gentlemen of Verona, II. i. 173 :—

Crom. My Lord of Winchester, you are a little,
 By your good favour, too sharp ; men so noble,
 However faulty, yet should find respect 75
 • For what they have been : 'tis a cruelty
 To load a falling man.

Gar. Good master secretary,
 I cry your honour mercy ; you may, worst
 • Of all this table, say so.

Crom. Why, my lord ?

Gar. Do not I know you for a favourer 80
 Of this new sect ? ye are not sound.

Crom. • Not sound ?

Gar. Not sound, I say.

Crom. Would you were half so honest !
 Men's prayers then would seek you, not their fears.

Gar. I shall remember this bold language.

Crom. Do.
 Remember your bold life too.

Chan. This is too much ; 85
 Forbear, for shame, my lords.

Gar. I have done.

Crom. And I.

Chan. Then thus for you, my lord : it stands agreed,
 I take it, by all voices, that forthwith
 You be convey'd to the Tower a prisoner ;
 There to remain till the king's further pleasure 90
 Be known unto us : are you all agreed, lords ?

All. We are.

Cran. • Is there no other way of mercy,
 But I must needs to the Tower, my lords ?

Gar. What other

73. *you are*] Pope ; *y' are* Ff.

75. *faulty*] *faultly* F 1.

"That which I would discover
 The law of friendship bids me to
 conceal" ;

Merry Wives of Windsor, II. ii. 190 :
 "I shall discover a thing to you,
 wherein I must very much lay open
 mine own imperfection."

77. *load*] cf. III. ii. 333.

78. *I . . . mercy*] I beg your honour's
 pardon, *i.e.* permit me to say, etc.
 For "cry mercy," see *Richard III.* v.
 iii. 224 :—

"Cry mercy [*i.e.* I apologise], lords
 and watchful gentlemen,

That you have ta'en a tardy
 sluggard here."

78. *worst*] you have least right to
 speak. Cf. *Richard II.* iv. i. 115 :
 "Worst in this royal presence may I
 speak."

81. *sound*] cf. III. ii. 274.

85, 87. *Chan.*] Capell made this
 correction. The folios give these
 speeches to the Lord Chamberlain.
 Theobald had in l. 87 proposed the
 change, but unknown to Capell. Dyce
 made the change also at ll. 102, 107.

Would you expect? you are strangely troublesome.
Let some o' the guard be ready there.

Enter Guard.

Cran. For me?

Must I go like a traitor thither?

Gar. Receive him,

And see him safe i' the Tower.

Cran. Stay, good my lords,

I have a little yet to say. Look there, my lords;

By virtue of that ring, I take my cause

Out of the gripes of cruel men, and give it 100

To a most noble judge, the king my master.

Cham. This is the king's ring.

Sur. 'Tis no counterfeit.

Suf. 'Tis the right ring, by heaven: I told ye all,

When we first put this dangerous stone a-rolling, . . .

'Twould fall upon ourselves.

Nor. Do you think, my lords, 105

The king will suffer but the little finger

Of this man to be vex'd?

Cham. 'Tis now too certain:

How much more is his life in value with him?

Would I were fairly out on't!

Crom. My mind gave me,

In seeking tales and informations 110

Against this man, whose honesty the devil

And his disciples only envy at,

Ye blew the fire that burns ye: now have at ye! . . .

Enter KING, frowning on them; takes his seat.

Gar. Dread sovereign, how much are we bound to heaven

In daily thanks, that gave us such a prince, 115

Not only good and wise, but most religious:

One that, in all obedience, makes the church

The chief aim of his honour; and, to strengthen

That holy duty, out of dear respect,

102, 107. *Cham.*] Ff; *Cha.* Capell; *Chan.* Malone, Dyce. 114. Scene VI.
Pope. Dread . . . heaven] So *Pope*; two lines in Ff. 119. out of] of our
Ff 3, 4.

109. My . . . me] My mind suggested to me, I surely thought. The expression is found in both a favourable and an unfavourable sense, but to explain it here as "I had a misgiving" would be an injustice to Cromwell. He hoped rather than feared that the attack on Cranmer would fail.
113. have at ye] The old nominative "ye" is often found for the accusative "you." For the phrase cf. II. ii. 85; III. ii. 309.

His royal self in judgement comes to hear 120

The cause betwixt her and this great offender.

King. You were ever good at sudden commendations,

Bishop of Winchester. But know, I come not

To hear such flattery now, and in my presence

They are too thin and bare to hide offences. 125

To me you cannot reach, you play the spaniel,

And think with wagging of your tongue to win me ;

But, whatsoe'er thou takest me for, I'm sure

Thou hast a cruel nature and a bloody.

[*To Cranmer*] Good man, sit down. Now let me see the
proudest 130

He, that dares most, but wag his finger at thee :

By all that's holy, he had better starve

Than but once think this place becomes thee not.

Sur. May it please your grace,—

King. No, sir, it does not please me.

I had thought I had had men of some understanding 135

And wisdom of my council ; but I find none.

Was it discretion, lords, to let this man,

This good man,—few of you deserve that title,—

This honest man, wait like a lousy footboy

At chamber-door ? and one as great as you are ? 140

Why, what a shame was this ! Did my commission

Bid ye so far forget yourselves ? I gave ye

Power as he was a councillor to try him,

Not as a groom : there's some of ye, I see,

• More out of malice than integrity 145

Would try him to the utmost, had ye mean ;

Which ye shall never have while I live.

124. *flattery*] *flatteries* Rowe (ed. 2). 125. *bare*] Dyce (Malone conj.) ;
base Ff. 130, 131. *proudest* *He*] *proudest*, *He* Collier. 135. *I . . .*
men] Ff ; *I had had thought I had men* Rowe (ed. 1) ; *I had thought I had*
men Rowe (ed. 2) ; *I thought I had men* Pope. 146. *mean*] *means* Pope.
147. *while*] *the while* Collier MS. *live*] *do live* Ff 3, 4.

131. *proudest* *He*] man, as " she " =
woman. Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher,
The Double Marriage, I. i. :—

" One that dares step as far to gain
my freedom,

As any he that breathes."

132. *starve*] die, a sense that survives
in the provincial " starve with cold."

133. *this*] So Rowe. The folios
read *his*, which is thus explained by
Malone : " Who dares to suppose that
the place or situation where he is, is

not suitable to thee also ? who supposes
that thou art not as fit for the office of
a privy counsellor as he is." But *this*
is better, as Cranmer's place was higher
than the others, above the Lord Chan-
cellor's ; the chair that stood empty (l.
10) is now filled. In I. iv. 79, " *this*
place " is used of the chair of state
vacated by Wolsey in favour of the
king.

• 146. *mean*] means, as in *Two Gentle-
men of Verona*, II. vii. 5, and III. i. 38.

Cham.

Thus far,

My most dread sovereign, may it like your grace
 To let my tongue excuse all. What was purposed
 Concerning his imprisonment, was rather, 150
 If there be faith in men, meant for his trial
 And fair purgation to the world, than malice,
 I'm sure, in me.

King.

Well, well, my lords, respect him ; *

Take him and use him well ; he's worthy of it.
 I will say thus much for him, if a prince 155
 May be beholding to a subject, I
 Am, for his love and service, so to him.
 Make me no more ado, but all embrace him :
 Be friends, for shame, my lords ! My Lord of
 Canterbury, 160

I have a suit which you must not deny me ;
 That is, a fair young maid that yet wants baptism ;
 You must be godfather, and answer for her.

Cran. The greatest monarch now alive may glory

In such an honour : how may I deserve it, 165
 That am a poor and humble subject to you ?

King. Come, come, my lord, you 'ld spare your spoons :
 you shall have two noble partners with you ; the
 old Duchess of Norfolk, and Lady Marquess
 Dorset : will these please you ? 170

Once more, my Lord of Winchester, I charge you,
 Embrace and love this man.

Gar.

With a true heart •

And brother-love I do it. •

Cran.

And let heaven

Witness how dear I hold this confirmation.

King. Good man, those joyful tears show thy true heart : 175147. *Thus far*] omitted Pope.156. *beholding*] *beholden* Rowe (ed. 2).158. *him*] omitted Johnson.162. *That is*] *There is* Rowe.170. *will*. . . *you*] omitted Pope.172. *heart*] *hearts* F 1.156. *beholding*] See note on iv. i. 21, *supra*.

167. *you 'ld . . . spoons*] The king jestingly ascribes Cranmer's reluctance to thrift rather than modesty. Capell illustrates the custom of giving spoons to god-children by an anecdote transcribed by Dr. Birch from Lestrange's *Merry Passages and Feasts*: "Shakespeare was Godfather to one of Ben Jonson's children; and after the

christening, being in deep study, Jonson came to cheer him up, and asked him, why he was so melancholy? No, faith, Ben, says he, not I; but I have been considering a great while what should be the fittest Gift for me to bestow upon my God-child, and I have resolved at last. I prythee what? says he. I' faith, Ben, I'll e'en give him a dozen good Latin [latten] Spoons, and thou shalt translate them."

The common voice, I see, is verified
Of thee, which says thus: "Do my Lord of Canterbury

A shrewd turn, and he is your friend for ever."

Come, lords, we trifle time away; I long
To have this young one made a Christian. 180

As I have made ye one, lords, one remain;

So, I grow stronger, you more honour gain. [Exeunt.

SCENE IV.—*The palace yard.*

Noise and tumult within. Enter Porter and his Man.

Port. You'll leave your noise anon, ye rascals: do you
take the court for Paris-garden? ye rude slaves,
leave your gaping.

[*Within*] "Good master porter, I belong to the
larder." 5

Port. Belong to the gallows, and be hanged, ye rogue!
Is this a place to roar in? Fetch me a dozen crab-tree
staves, and strong ones: these are but switches to
'em. I'll scratch your heads: you must be seeing
christenings? do you look for ale and cakes here, 10
you rude rascals?

178. A] *But one Pope.* Scene iv.] Cam. Edd.; Scena Tertia Ff.; Scene vii.
Pope. The palace yard] Theobald. 1-11. As verse Capell. 2. Paris]
F 4; Parish Ff 1-3.

177, 178. *Do . . . ever*] See Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. viii. p. 15:
"For it was known that he had many
cruel enemies, not for his own deserts,
but only for his religion's sake: and yet
whatsoever he was that sought his
hinderance, either in goods, estimation,
or life, and upon conference would
seem never so slenderly any thing to
relent or excuse himself, he would both
forget the offence committed, and also
evermore afterwards friendly entertain
him, and show such pleasure to him, as
by any means possible he might per-
form or declare, inasmuch that it came
into a common proverb, 'Do unto my
lord of Canterbury displeasure, or a
shrewd turn, and then you may be sure
to have him your friend while he
liveth.'"

Act V. Scene iv.] By Fletcher (Sped-
ding and Boyle).

2. *Paris-garden*] This celebrated bear-
garden on the Bankside was so called
from Robert de Paris, who had a house
and garden there in the time of Richard
II. (Malone).

3. *leave*] cease.

3. *gaping*] as Reed explains, shouting
or roaring. This sense is illustrated in
New Eng. Dict. by Fulke, *Heskins*
Parl. 356: "He gapeth and cryeth out
uppon Oecolampadius"; Middleton,
Fam. Love, i. ii.: "Peace, good
gudgeon, gape not so loud"; and
Miege, *Fr. Dict.* ii.: "He ever gapes
when he speaks, *il crie toujours, quand*
il parle."

10. *ale and cakes*] as at a fair or
festival. Cf. *Twelfth Night*, ii. iii. 125:
"Dost thou think, because thou art
virtuous, there shall be no more cakes
and ale."

Man. Pray, sir, be patient: 'tis as much impossible—
 Unless we sweep 'em from the door with cannons—
 To scatter 'em, as 'tis to make 'em sleep
 On May-day morning; which will never be : 15
 We may as well push against Powle's as stir 'em.

Port. How got they in, and be hang'd?

Man. Alas, I know not; how gets the tide in?
 As much as one sound cudgel of four foot—
 You see the poor remainder—could distribute, 20
 I made no spare, sir.

Port. You did nothing, sir.

Man. I am not Samson; nor Sir Guy, nor Colbrand,
 To mow 'em down before me: but if I spared any
 That had a head to hit, either young or old,
 He or she, cuckold or cuckold-maker, 25
 Let me ne'er hope to see a chine again;
 And that I would not for a cow, God save her!

13. *sweep*] *swept* Ff 3, 4. 16. *Powle's*] *Pauls* F 4. 22-27. *I . . . her*
 As prose, Pope. 25. *He*] *Be it he* Keightley. 26. *chine*] *queen* Collier
 (ed. 2 and MS.). 27. *a cow*] *a crown* Collier (ed. 2 and MS.); *my cow*
 Staunton conj.; *a sow* Watkiss Lloyd conj. (*Notes and Queries*, 1887).

15. *May-day*] when people rose early to gather May dew.

16. *push against Powle's*] attempt to upset St. Paul's Cross. Others have taken it of the cathedral.

22. *Sir Guy, nor Colbrand*] heroes of romance. Colbrand a Danish giant was conquered and killed by Guy, Earl of Warwick. See Drayton's description of the fight in *Polyolbion*, *The Twelfth Song*:—

"Whereas, betwixt them two, might eas'ly have been seen

Such blows, in public throngs as used had there been,

Of many there the least might many men have slain."

26. *chine*] originally "backbone" and hence a joint of beef, saddle of mutton, back of pig when the sides are removed for curing. See *New Eng. Dict.* Collier (ed. 2) read *queen*, and *crown* for *cow* in the next line, confusing perhaps, as Lettsom suggests, the christening with the previous coronation. With these readings, "God save her" becomes a prayer for the Queen.

27. *a cow*] Watkiss Lloyd proposed *a sow*. "Chines of beef are known," he admits, "but enthusiasm does not attach to cow beef." See *Notes and*

Queries, VII. iv. 103. Staunton proposed *my cow*. "The expression, 'my cow, God save her!' or 'my mare, God save her!' or 'my sow, God bless her!' appear to have been proverbial; thus in Greene and Lodge's *Looking Glasse for London and Eng-lande*, 1598—'my blind mare, God bless her!'" On the other hand, it may seem more humorous to invoke a blessing on a cow which is still, so to say, *in nubibus*. See next note.

27. *God save her*] A similar expression, "I would not do that for a cow, save her tail" is given in *The Literary Gazette* for January 25, 1862, p. 95, as still to be heard in the mouths of the vulgar in Devonshire (cited by Dyce). Both seem to have arisen from a blessing or its equivalent, e.g. "I wish you luck of her" (still heard in Ireland), used by the admirer of another man's cattle, for instance, to avert the danger or suspicion of the evil eye. Persons uneducated or insufficiently sober sometimes use words with the addition of some former context. Here "cow" is mentioned and the blessing, no longer appropriate, follows automatically. Thus in *Twelfth Night*, I. iii. 7, Sir Toby says, "Let her except," *i. e.*

[*Within*] "Do you hear, master porter?"

Port. I shall be with you presently, good master puppy.

Keep the door close, sirrah.

30

Man. What would you have me do?

Port. What should you do, but knock 'em down by the dozens? Is this Moorfields to muster in? or have we some strange Indian with the great tool come to court, the women so besiege us? Bless me, what a fry³ of fornication is at door! On my Christian conscience, this one christening will beget a thousand; here will be father, godfather, and all together.

35

Man. The spoons will be the bigger, sir. There is a fellow somewhat near the door, he should be a brazier by his face, for, o' my conscience, twenty of the dog-days now reign in 's nose; all that stand about him are under the line, they need no other penance: that fire-drake did I hit three times on the head, and three times was his nose discharged against me; he stands

45

34. *tool*] Pope; *Toole* (in italics) Ff.

take exception to my ill hours, adding, however, "before excepted" word, forming part of a legal phrase, *viz.* "except before excepted" which he happened to remember. I should mention that Prof. Case thinks that Sir Toby is here merely playing on words in answer to the steward. But see also II. iii. 108-110, *ibid.*, where Malvolio says "she is very willing to bid you farewell," and Sir Toby, with a recollection of "farewell" in a certain catch, sings: "Farewell, dear heart, since I must needs be gone."

33. *Moorfields*] "The train-bands of the city were exercised in Moorfields," says Johnson, rightly perhaps, but he gives no authority; and Mile-end, where Ralph was made a city captain (*Knight of the Burning Pestle*, v. iii.), was the usual place. Moorfields, however, was crowded on holidays and archery meetings were held there. Moregate was built *circa* 1415 "for ease of the citizens, that way to pass into the field for their recreation." In 1497 "all the gardens in the Morefield were destroyed and made playne ground"; and in 1512 Moorfield was ordered to be levelled and a convenient place to be provided for the "dogge house of the Comen Hunte of this

City." See Stow, *Survey*, ed. Kingsford, i. 32; ii. 179.

40. *brazier*] Johnson writes: "A brazier signifies a man that manufactures brass, and a reservoir for charcoal occasionally heated to convey warmth. Both these senses are understood."

43. *are . . . line*] are as hot as if they lived at the equator.

44. *fire-drake*] Fiery dragon and artificial fireworks are meanings seemingly excluded by the use of "meteor," l. 52. Both fire-drake and meteor (cf. "exhalation," III. ii. 226, *supra*) denote the will o' the wisp and other luminous appearances in the air including falling stars and comets. For examples of the various senses see *New Eng. Dict.* and Nares's *Glossary*. Malone quotes Bullokar, *Expositor*, 1616: "*Fire-drake*. A fire sometimes seen flying in the night like a dragon. Common people think it a spirit that keepeth some treasure hid; but philosophers affirme it to be a great unequal exhalation, inflamed betwene two clouds, the one hot, the other cold, which is the reason that it also smoketh; the middle part whereof, according to the proportion of the hot cloud, being greater than the rest, maketh it seeme like a bellie, and both ends like unto a head and taile."

there, like a mortar-piece, to blow us. There was a haberdasher's wife of small wit near him, that railed upon me till her pinked porringer fell off her head, for kindling such a combustion in the state. I missed the meteor once, and hit that woman, who cried out "Clubs!" when I might see from far some forty truncheoners draw to her succour, which were the hope o' the Strand, where she was quartered. They fell on; I made good my place: at length they came to the broomstaff to me; I defied 'em still: when suddenly a file of boys behind 'em, loose shot, delivered such a shower of pebbles, that I was fain to draw mine honour in and let 'em win the work: the devil was amongst 'em, I think, surely.

Port. These are the youths that thunder at a playhouse and fight for bitten apples; that no audience, but the tribulation of Tower-hill, or the limbs of Limehouse,

46. *blow us*] *blow us up* Ff 3, 4. 47. *wit*] *wares* Watkiss Lloyd conj. (Notes and Queries, 1887). 53. *hope*] *forlorn hope* Hanmer. 55. *to me*] *with me* Pope. 56, 57. *behind 'em, . . . pebbles*] *behind 'em delivered . . . pibbles, loose shot* Pope. *loose shot, delivered*] *loos'd shot and delivered* Daniel conj. 57. *pebbles*] *Johnson*; *pibbles* Ff. 62. *tribulation*] *Tribulation* Theobald; *sweet tribulation* Capell. 62. *limbs*] *Limbes* or *Limbs* Ff; *lambs* Steevens conj.; *young limbs* Anon. conj.

46. *blow us*] M. Mason proposed to read *blow us up*, and this is generally taken to be the meaning. "Blow" is not used absolutely elsewhere in Shakespeare. Could it here be the noun blow = stroke, used as a verb? In the well-known sailors' shanty, "Blow the man down," "Blow" seems to mean "knock." Mason's conjecture is the reading of Ff 3, 4.

47. *haberdasher's . . . wit*] Malone refers to a similar expression in the Introduction to Ben Jonson's *Magnetic Lady*, "we have divers that drive that trade now: poets, poetaccios, poetasters, poetitos"—"And all haberdashers [i.e. retailers] of small wit, I presume." If the expressions are parallel, the words in the text will mean, not a haberdasher's silly wife, but a female dealer in cheap witticisms.

48. *pinked porringer*] a small round cap pierced for ornament. The shape would seem to have been fashionable when Petruchio criticised it unfavourably, *Taming of the Shrew*, iv. iii. 65-70:—

"Why this was moulded on a porringer;

A velvet dish: fie, fie! 'tis lewd and filthy:

Why, 'tis a cockle or a walnut-shell,

A knack, a trick, a toy, a baby's cap. . . .

Kath. I'll have no bigger: this doth fit the time,

And gentlewomen wear such caps as these."

New Eng. Dict. cites W. Irving, *Sketch Book, Little Brit.*: "There is the little man with the velvet porringer on his head."

51. *Clubs*] The call of "Clubs!" summoned prentices to put down, or take part in a fight. See Nares, *sub voc.* Shakespeare mentions clubs in *As You Like It*, v. ii. 44: "Clubs cannot part them"; *1 Henry VI.* i. iii. 84: "I'll call for clubs, if you will not away"; and elsewhere.

55. *to the broomstaff*] to close quarters.

56. *loose shot*] stone throwers in loose formation. Cf. spears for spear-men, drums for drummers, etc.

58. *work*] fortification.

62. *tribulation . . . Limehouse*] The

their dear brothers, are able to endure. I have
some of 'em in Limbo Patrum, and there they are
like to dance these three days; besides the running 65
banquet of two beadles that is to come.

Enter LORD CHAMBERLAIN.

Cham. Mercy o' me, what a multitude are here!

* 2 They grow still too; from all parts they are coming,
As if we kept a fair here. Where are these porters,
These lazy knaves? Ye have made a fine hand,
fellows!

70

There's a trim rabble let in: are all these
Your faithful friends o' the suburbs? We shall have
Great store of room, no doubt, left for the ladies,
When they pass back from the christening.

Port. An't please your honour,

63. *brothers*] *brethren* S. Walker conj.

meaning of this is not known. Johnson says: "I suspect the *Tribulation* to have been a puritanical meeting-house." Steevens argues with some acerbity in favour of Johnson's guess, and cites Skelton's *Magnificence* (*Wks.* ed. Dyce, i. p. 295):—

"Some fall to foly them selfe for to
spyll,

And some fall prechyng at the
Toure Hyll";
but this quotation I take to mean—
"Some run mad, and others are
hanged," the preaching being their
"last words." T. Warton notes that
"Alliteration has given rise to many
cant expressions, consisting of words
paired together. Here we have cant
words for the inhabitants of those
places, who were notorious puritans,
coined for the humour of the alliteration.
In the meantime it must not
be forgotten that 'precious limbs' was
a common phrase of contempt for the
puritans." The word "limb," sc. of
the devil, is not of sufficiently determinate
application to serve as proof. "The
Hooligans of Tower Hill and their
brother Hooligans from Limehouse"
may be all that is meant, but there was
an asylum in the Limehouse district
and a gallows was erected at Tower
Hill when necessary, and the rabble at
an execution and the inmates of bedlam
were likely to enjoy noise.

64. *Limbo Patrum*] prison. Properly

it signifies "Abraham's bosom," the
place where saints and patriarchs rested
till the coming or death of Christ.
See Du Cange (1885) *sub voc.* It is so
called from the Latin, *limbus*, a border,
as in Christian times it was supposed
to be on the borders of Hell.

65, 66. *running banquet*] a public
whipping (Johnson). Cf. whipping
cheer, and birchly (al. breechless) feast
(Caxton's *Book of Courtesy*); but the
word banquet may be used because the
whipping succeeded the imprisonment,
for, as Steevens notes, "A banquet in
the ancient language did not signify
either dinner or supper, but the desert
after each of them. So in Thomas
Newton's *Herbal to the Bible*, 8vo,
1587: 'and are used to be served at
the end of meales for a junket or *ban-*
quetting dish, as sucket and other
daintie conceits likewise are.'" See
also i. iv. 12, *supra*.

70. *made . . . hand*] *New Eng. Dict.*
has "Make a hand. a. To make one's
profit; to make a success of, to succeed
or speed with. Freq. with qualifying
adj., as fair fine (often ironical), good,"
etc.

71. *trim*] well-dressed (ironical).

72. *suburbs*] The general resort of
disorderly persons in fortified towns,
and in London also, says Nares. See
Measure for Measure, i. ii. 98; *Julius*
Cæsar, ii. i. 285, and context.

We are but men ; and what so many may do, 75
 Not being torn a-pieces, we have done :
 An army cannot rule 'em.

Cham. As I live,
 If the king blame me for 't, I'll lay ye all
 By the heels, and suddenly ; and on your heads
 Clap round fines for neglect : ye're lazy knaves ; 80
 And here ye lie baiting of bombards when
 Ye should do service. Hark ! the trumpets sound ;
 They're come already from the christening :
 Go, break among the press, and find a way out
 To let the troop pass fairly, or I'll find 85
 A Marshalsea shall hold ye play these two months.

Port. Make way there for the princess.

Man. You great fellow,
 Stand close up, or I'll make your head ache.

Port. You i' the camlet, get up o' the rail ;
 I'll peck you o'er the pales else *Exeunt.* 90

75. *what so many*] *what-so man* Anon. conj. 89. *camlet*] Steevens ; *Chamb-*
let Ff. *up o'*] *off* Rann (Mason conj.) ; *up off* Mason conj. 90. *peck*] Ff 3, 4 ;
pecke Ff 1, 2 ; *pick* Johnson. *pales*] *pates* Knight, ed. 2 (Anon. conj.) ; *poll*
 Collier MS.

76. *Not . . . a-pieces*] *i.e.* without
 endangering our lives.

78, 79. *lay . . . heels*] set you in the
 stocks, or put you in irons.

80. *Clap . . . fines*] fine you heavily.
 For "round" cf. "a good round sum"
 in *Merchant of Venice*, i. iii. 104.

81. *baiting of bombards*] drinking,
 crowding like dogs at a bear-baiting
 round a leather vessel. Its shape and
 substance may be inferred from the
 fact that bombard was a kind of cannon,
 "a murdering piece" (Cotgrave), and
 that the French, seeing the great black
 jacks and bombards at the Court, re-
 ported that the Englishmen used to
 drink out of their boots.

84. *press*] crowd. Cf. St. Mark ii. 4.

86. *Marshalsea*] a prison near St.
 George's, Southwark, mentioned in
 Skelton's *Colyn Cloute*, ed. Dyce, i.
 356:—

"Take hym, wardeyne of the Flete,
 Set hym fast by the fete!

I say lyeutenaunt of the Toure . . .

Lodge him in Lytell Ease . . .

The Kynges Benche or Mar-
 shalsey."

89. *camlet*] a rough material origin-
 ally made of silk and hair, and so called

from the pile or nap ; Arab. *Khamlat*.
 It was supposed to be of camel's hair.

See *The Kingis Quair*, 157:—

"The lesty bever and the ravin bare ;

For chamelot, the camel full of
 hare."

New Eng. Dict. says : "It is uncertain
 whether it was ever made of camel's
 hair ; but in the sixteenth and seven-
 teenth century it was made of the hair
 of the Angora goat."

89. *o' the rail*] *i.e.* off the rail, as
 some read (Clarendon ed.). Prof.
 Case asks : "Is there any evidence for
 this ? or does he tell one to stand close,
 the big man, and another, a smaller
 one, to get up on the railing to save
 room ?" The contracted form *o'* was
 used for both "on" and "of," and
 "of" was not clearly distinguished
 from "off" in Shakespeare's time,
 especially in the speech of the common
 people.

90. *peck . . . pales*] pitch you over
 the paling. "Peck" is a form of
 "pick" (= pitch) which occurs in
Coriolanus, i. i. 204. *New Eng. Dict.*
 cites Cotgrave : "Vergette . . . a
 boyes play with rods or wands pecked
 at a heape of points."

SCENE V.—*The palace.*

Enter Trumpets, sounding; then two Aldermen, LORD MAYOR, GARTER, CRANMER, DUKE OF NORFOLK with his marshal's staff, DUKE OF SUFFOLK, two Noblemen bearing great standing-bowls for the christening gifts; then four Noblemen bearing a canopy, under which the DUCHESS OF NORFOLK, godmother, bearing the child richly habited in a mantle, etc. train borne by a Lady; then follows the MARCHIONESS DORSET, the other godmother, and Ladies. The troop pass once about the stage, and GARTER speaks.

Gart. Heaven, from thy endless goodness, send prosperous life, long, and ever happy, to the high and mighty princess of England, Elizabeth!

Flourish. Enter KING and Guard.

Cran. [*Kneeling*] And to your royal grace, and the good queen My noble partners and myself thus pray: 5
All comfort, joy, in this most gracious lady,
Heaven ever laid up to make parents happy,
May hourly fall upon ye!

King. Thank you, good lord archbishop:—
What is her name?

Cran. Elizabeth.

King. Stand up, lord.
[*The King kisses the child.*
With this kiss take my blessing: God protect thee! 10
Into whose hand I give thy life.

Cran. Amen.

King. My noble gossips, ye have been too prodigal:

Scene v.] Cam. Edd.; Scena Quarta Ff; Scene viii. Pope. 1-3. *Heaven . . . Elizabeth*] As prose Capell; as four lines ending *Heaven, . . . life, . . . Mighty . . . Elizabeth* Ff. 7. *Heaven ever*] *That heaven e'er* Pope. 8. *archbishop*] omitted Steevens conj.

Act V. Scene v.] By Fletcher (Spedding and Boyle).

Stage Direction] See extract from Holinshed in the Appendix.

13. *Heaven . . . Elizabeth*] See Holinshed, iii. 787: "When the ceremonies and christening were ended, Garter, cheefe king of arms cried alowd, God of his infinite goodnesse send prosperous life & long to the high and mightie pryncesse of England Elizabeth: & then the trumpets blew."

12. *gossips*] godfather and godmothers, originally Godsib, *i.e.* God-related, akin owing to their common spiritual relationship as sponsors.

12. *ye . . . prodigal*] *sc.* in your gifts. Cranmer gave a standing cup of gold, the Duchess of Norfolk a standing cup of gold, fretted (*i.e.* decorated) with pearl, the Marchioness of Dorset three gilt bowls pounced with a cover.

I thank ye heartily ; so shall this lady,
When she has so much English.

Cran.

Let me speak, sir,

For heaven now bids me ; and the words I utter 15

Let none think flattery, for they 'll find 'em truth.

This royal infant—heaven still move about her !—

Though in her cradle, yet now promises

Upon this land a thousand thousand blessings,

Which time shall bring to ripeness : she shall be— 20

But few now living can behold that goodness—

A pattern to all princes living with her,

And all that shall succeed : Saba was never

More covetous of wisdom and fair virtue

Than this pure soul shall be : all princely graces, 25

That mould up such a mighty piece as this is,

With all the virtues that attend the good,

Shall still be doubled on her : truth shall nurse her,

Holy and heavenly thoughts still counsel her :

She shall be loved and fear'd : her own shall bless

her ; 30

Her foes shake like a field of beaten corn,

And hang their heads with sorrow. Good grows with her :

In her days every man shall eat in safety,

Under his own vine, what he plants, and sing

The merry songs of peace to all his neighbours : 35

God shall be truly known ; and those about her

From her shall read the perfect ways of honour,

And by those claim their greatness, not by blood.

23. *Saba*] *Sheba* Rowe (ed. 2).
lines in Ff.

37. *read*] *tread* Collier conj.
those] *that* Capell (reading *way*).

32. *And . . . her*] So Rowe (ed. 2) ; two
ways] F 4 ; *way* Ff 1-3.

38.

23. *Saba*] The queen of Sheba. In the Vulgate (Reg. lib. iii. 1) she is called *regina Saba*, i.e. the queen of Saba, and the expression was misunderstood to mean "Queen Saba." Cf. Lodge, *Answer to Gosson* (Shaks. Soc. p. 31) : "God enlarge her wisdom, that like Saba she may seeke after a Salomon."

26. *piece*] person, personage (*New Eng. Dict.*). It is sometimes used absolutely, in a good sense (cf. master-piece), also for a gun or cannon (cf. fowling-piece), and the two meanings are played on in Beaumont and Fletcher, *Maid in the Mill*, 1. ii. : "Methinks,

she was no such piece," said to one on whom a lady's eye had broken out like a bullet wrapt in a cloud of fire.

33-35. *every . . . neighbours*] See 1 Kings iv. 25, 2 Kings xviii. 31, Isaiah xxxvi. 16, Micah iv. 4. A picture of a golden age, parodied in Beaumont and Fletcher, *Beggars' Bush*, II. i. :—

"Under him,
Each man shall eat his own stol'n
eggs and butter,
In his own shade, or sunshine,"
etc.

37. *ways*] The Ff. have *way*, but "those" (l. 39) must refer to a plural.

Nor shall this peace sleep with her ; but, as when
 The bird of wonder dies, the maiden phoenix, 40
 Her ashes new create another heir
 As great in admiration as herself,
 So shall she leave her blessedness to one—
 When heaven shall call her from this cloud of darkness—
 Who from the sacred ashes of her honour 45
 Shall star-like rise, as great in fame as she was,
 And so stand fix'd. Peace, plenty, love, truth, terror,
 That were the servants to this chosen infant,
 Shall then be his, and like a vine grow to him :
 Wherever the bright sun of heaven shall shine, 50
 His honour and the greatness of his name
 Shall be, and make new nations : he shall flourish,
 And, like a mountain cedar, reach his branches
 To all the plains about him. Our children's children
 Shall see this, and bless heaven.

King. Thou speakest wonders. 55

Cran. She shall be, to the happiness of England,
 An aged princess ; many days shall see her,
 And yet no day without a deed to crown it.
 Would I had known no more ! but she must die ;
 She must ; the saints must have her ; yet a virgin, 60
 A most unspotted lily shall she pass
 To the ground, and all the world shall mourn her.

King. O lord archbishop,
 Thou hast made me now a man ! never, before
 • This happy child, did I get any thing. 65

54. *Our*] omitted Pope. 57. *shall see her*] *she'll see here* Vaughan conj.
 60. *her ; . . . virgin,*] Ff ; *her yet a virgin* : Theobald. 62. *To*] *Unto*
 Hanmer. 62. *her*] *for her* S. Walker conj.

39-55. *Nor . . . heaven*] A later insertion according to Theobald who thought the play written in Elizabeth's reign.

40. *the maiden phoenix*] In Rowley's *When you see me you know me*, there is a similar passage : " Phoenix Jana abiit, nato Phœnice, dolendum, Secula phœnices nulla tulisse duas—One phoenix dying gives another life," where the reference is to the birth of Edward VI.

52. *new nations*] "On a picture," says Malone, "of this contemptible king, which formerly belonged to the

great Bacon, and is now in the possession of Lord Grimston, he is styled *imperii Atlantici conditor*. The year before the revival of this play (1612) there was a lottery for the plantation of Virginia. These lines probably refer to the settlement of that colony." The colony of Barbados was founded in 1605, and Jamestown in Virginia settled by the Virginia Company in 1608.

53. *reach his branches*] Perhaps a reference to the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine.

This oracle of comfort has so pleased me,
 That when I am in heaven I shall desire
 To see what this child does, and praise my Maker.
 I thank ye all. To you, my good lord mayor,
 And your good brethren, I am much beholding ; 70
 I have received much honour by your presence,
 And ye shall find me thankful. Lead the way, lords :
 Ye must all see the queen, and she must thank ye ;
 She will be sick else. This day, no man think
 Has business at his house ; for all shall stay : 75
 This little one shall make it holiday. [*Exeunt.*]

71. *your*] Theobald (Thirby conj.) *you* Ff.
 (ed. 2) ; *He* 'as Hanmer ; *He* has Capell.

75. *Has*] 'Has F1 ; *H*'as Rowe

THE EPILOGUE

'Tis ten to one this play can never please
 All that are here : some come to take their ease,
 And sleep an act or two ; but those, we fear,
 We have frightened with our trumpets ; so, 'tis clear,
 They 'll say 'tis naught : others, to hear the city 5
 Abused extremely, and to cry " That's witty ! "
 Which we have not done neither ; that, I fear,
 . All the expected good we're like to hear
 For this play at this time, is only in
 The merciful construction of good women ; 10
 For such a one we show'd 'em : if they smile,
 And say 'twill do, I know, within a while
 All the best men are ours ; for 'tis ill hap,
 If they hold when their ladies bid 'em clap.

9, 10. *is only in The] we shall not owe men* But Collier conj.

Epilogue] By Fletcher (Spedding),
 by Massinger (Boyle). " I cannot
 restrain myself from expressing my
 opinion that neither the Prologue nor
 the Epilogue to this play is the work of
 Shakespeare ; *non vultus, non color* "
 (Johnson).

7. *that*] so that.

9, 10. *in . . . women*] Compare the
 rime in *Prologue*, ll. 25, 26. Steevens
 notes that a verse with as unmusical a
 close may be found in Burton's *Ana-*
tomy of Melancholy (pt. III. sec. iii.
 mem. 3, subs. 4) :—

" Rose, the joy of mortal men,
 Rose, the pleasure of fine women."

APPENDIX

EXTRACTS FROM HOLINSHED'S *CHRONICLES*, VOL. III. 1808, AND
FROM FOX'S *ACTS AND MONUMENTS*, ED. PRATT, VOL. VIII. N.D.

In all quotations (except in the case of Latin words and quotations from the folios in the critical notes) the letters i, j, u, and v, are used as in modern English.

THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD (*Holinshed*)

THE French king desirous to continue the friendship latelie begun betwixt him and the king of England, made meanes unto the cardinall, that they might in some convenient place come to an interview together, that he might have further knowledge of king Henrie and likewise king Henrie of him. But the same went that the cardinall desired greatlie, of himselfe, that the two kings might meet, who measuring by his will what was convenient, thought it should make much with his glorie, if in France also at some high assemblie of noble men, he should be seene in his vaine pompe and shew of dignitie; hee therefore breaketh with the king of that matter, declaring how honourable, necessarie, and convenient it should be for him to gratifie his friend therein, and thus with his persuasions the K. began to conceive an earnest desire to see the French king, and thereupon appointed to go over to Calis, and so in the marches of Guisnes to meet with him. . . . Herewith were letters written to all such lords, ladies gentlemen and gentlewomen, which should give their attendance on the king and queene, which incontinentlie put themselves in a readinesse after the most sumptuous sort. Also it was appointed that the king of England, & the French king, in a campe betweene Ard and Guisnes, with eightene aides, should in June next insuing abide all commers, being gentlemen, at the tilt, at tourneie, and at barriers . . . both the kings committed the order and manner of their meeting, and how manie daies the same should continue, and what preheminance each should give to other, unto the cardinall of Yorke, which to set all things in a certieintie, made an instrument, containing an order and direction concerning the premisses by him devised and appointed [p. 641].

The kings majestie persevering in purpose to meet with Francis the French king, remooved with the queene and all his court the one & twentieth day of Maie . . . towards the sea side . . . the emperour being on the sea returning out of Spaine, arrived . . . on the coast of Kent . . . [p. 645].

The chief cause that mooved the emperour to come thus on land at this time, was to persuade that by word of mouth which he had done before most earnestlie by letters; which was that the king of England should not meet with the French king at anie interview . . .

But now that he perceived how the king was forward on his journie, he did what he could to procure, that no trust should be committed to the faire words of the Frenchmen: and that if it were possible, the great friendship that was now in breeding betwixt the two kings, might be dissolved. And forasmuch as he knew the lord cardinall to be woone with rewards, as a fish with a bait: he bestowed on him great gifts, and promised him much more, so that hee would be his friend, and helpe to bring his purpose to passe. The cardinall not able to susteine the least assault by force of such rewards as he presentlie received, and of such large promises as on the emperours behalfe were made to him, promised to the emperour, that he would so use the matter, as his purpose should be sped . . . [p. 646].

The king of England had given to the said cardinall full authoritie, power, and libertie, to affirme and confirme, bind and unbind, whatsoever should be in question betweene him and the French king: and the like authoritie, power, and libertie, did the French king by his sufficient letters patents, grant to the same cardinall, which was accepted to be a signe of great love, that he should commit so great a trust unto the king of Englands subject. The day of the meeting was appointed to be on the thursdaie the seaventh of June, upon which daie the two kings met in the vale of Andren, accompanied with such a number of the nobilitie of both realmes, so richlie appointed in apparell, and costlie jewels, as chaines, collars of SS, & other the like ornaments to set foorth their degrees and estates, that a woonder it was to behold and view them in their order and roomes, which everie man kept according to his appointment.

The two kings meeting in the field, either saluted other in most loving wise, first on horsebacke, and after alighting on foot eftsoones imbraced with courteous words, to the great rejoising of the beholders: and after they had thus saluted ech other, they went both together into a rich tent of cloath of gold, there set up for the purpose, in the which they passed the time in pleasant talke, banketting, and loving devises, till it drew towards the evening, and then departed for that night, the one to Guisnes, the other to Ard [p. 649].

The two kings with their companies thus apparelled, presented themselves to the queenes, and so took the end of the tilt. Then entred into the field monsieur Leskew called lord Leskin, with him came eleven men of armes, himselfe the twelfe on horsse bearded and richlie apparelled, and so rode about the tilt and saluted the queenes, and took the end of the tilt. Monsieur de Leskew and his

eleven companions had their bases and bards all of blacke cloath of gold of damaske all cut on blacke sattin, their garments had mantell sleeves on the left arme, to the wast behind just to the shoulder which was praised for the strangenesse. The French king ran to monsieur de Ambois, one of the band of monsieur Leskew, and the king of England charged his course and ran to monsieur Leskew, and so furnished their courses (as they saie) right noblie and valiantlie in breaking speares that were strong. Thus course after course ech with other, his counter partie did right valiantlie, but the two kings surmounted all the rest in prowess and valiantnesse [652].

On mondaie, the eighteenth of June, was such a hideous storme of wind and weather, that manie conjectured it did prognosticate trouble and hatred shortlie after to follow betweene princes [654].

[The sixt of March the French K. attacheth the Englishmens goods in Burdeaux.] The sixt of March [1523 O.S.] the French king commanded all Englishmens goods being in Burdeaux, to be attached, and put under arrest, and reteined not only the monie due to be paid for the restitution of Tornaie, but also withheld the French queenes dower . . .

The king, understanding how his subjects were handled at Burdeaux by the French king's commandment, in breach of the league, the French ambassadour was called before the councell, and the cardinall laid sore to his charge, that contrarie to his promise at all times on the French king his maisters behalfe, affirming that he ment nothing but peace and amitie to be observed in all points with the king of England: yet now the English merchants had not onelie their goods staied at Burdeaux, but also they and their factors were laid in prison, in full breach of all peace and amitie afore time concluded. The ambassadour in words so well as hee could excused his maister, but in the end hee was commanded to keepe his house [p. 676].

THE FALL OF BUCKINGHAM

THE peeres of the realme receiving letters to prepare themselves to attend the king in this journeie, and no apparant necessarie cause expressed, why nor wherefore; seemed to grudge that such a costlie journie should be taken in hand to their importunate charges and expenses, without consent of the whole boord of the councell. But namelie the duke of Buckingham, being a man of loftie courage, but not most liberall, sore repined that he should be at so great charges for his furniture forth at this time, saieng; that he knew not for what cause so much monie should be spent about the sight of a vaine talke to be had and communication to be ministred of things of no importance. Wherefore he sticked not to saie that it was an intolerable matter to obeie such a vile and importunate person.

The duke indeed could not abide the cardinall, and speciallie he had of late conceived an inward malice against him for Sir William Bulmers cause, whose trouble was onelie procured by the cardinall;

who first caused him to be cast in prison. Now such greivous words as the duke thus uttered against him came to the cardinals eare ; whereupon he cast before hand all waies possible to have him in a trip, that he might cause him to leape headlesse. But bicause he doubted his freends, kinnesmen, and alies, and cheeflie the earle of Surrie lord admirall, which had married the dukes [p. 644] daughter he thought good first to send him some whither out of the waie least he might cast a trumpe in his waie. There was great enimitie betwixt the cardinall and the earle, for that on a time, when the cardinall tooke upon him to checke the earle, he had like to have had thrust his dagger into the cardinall.

At length there was occasion offered him to compasse his purpose, by occasion of the earle of Kildare his comming out of Ireland. For the cardinall knowing he was well provided of monie sought occasion to fleece him of part thereof. The earle of Kildare being unmarried, was desirous to have an English woman to wife ; and for that he was a suter to a widow contrarie to the cardinall's mind, he accused him to the king of that he had not borne himselfe uprightlie in his office in Ireland, where he was the kings lieutenant. Such accusations were framed against him when no bribes would come, that he was committed to prison, and then by the cardinalls good preferment the earle of Surrie was sent into Ireland as the kings deputie, in lieu of the said earle of Kildare, there to remaine rather as an exile, than as lieutenant to the king, even at the cardinalls pleasure, as he himselfe well perceived. . . . He continued there two years. . . . There rested yet the earle of Northumberland, whome the cardinall doubted also, least he might hinder his purpose . . . and therefore he picked a quarrel to him, for that he had seized upon certeine wards which the cardinall said appertained of right to the king. And bicause the earle would not give over his title, he was also committed to prison. . . .

Now in this meane while, the cardinall ceased not to bring the duke out of the kings favour, by such forged tales, and contrived surmises, as he dailie put into the kings head : insomuch that (through the infelicitie of his fate) diverse accidents fell out to the advantage of the cardinall ; which he not omitting, atchived the thing whereat he so studiouslie (for the satisfieng of his canckered & malicious stomach) laid full ayme. Now it chanced that the duke comming to London with his traine of men, to attend the king into France, went before into Kent unto a manor place which he had there. And whilst he staid in that countrie till the king set forward, greivous complaints were exhibited to him by his farmars and tenants against Charles Knevet his surveieur, for such bribing as he had used there amongst them. Whereupon the duke tooke such displeasure against him, that he deprived him of his office not knowing how in so dooing he procured his owne destruction, as after appeared [pp. 644, 645].

After that this matter for inclosures was thus dispatched, the

cardinall boiling in hatred against the duke of Buckingham, & thirsting for his blood, devised to make Charles Knevet, that had been the dukes surveior, and put from him (as ye have heard) an instrument to bring the duke to destruction. This Knevet being had in examination before the cardinall, disclosed all the dukes life. And first he uttered, that the duke was accustomed by waie of talke, to saie, how he meant so to use the matter, that he would attein to the crowne, if king Henrie chanced to die without issue : & that he had talke and conference of that matter on a time with George Nevill, lord of Aburgavennie, unto whome he had given his daughter in marriage ; and also that he threatened to punish the cardinall for his manifold misdoings, being without cause his mortall enemye. The cardinall having gotten that which he sought for, incouraged, comforted, and procured Knevet, with manie comfortable words and great promises, that he should with a bold spirit and countenance object and laie there things to the dukes charge, with more if he knew it when time required. Then Knevet partlie provoked with desire to be revenged, and partlie mooved with hope of reward, openlie confessed, that the duke had once fullie determined to devise meanes how to make the king away, being brought into a full hope that he should be king, by a vain prophesie which one Nicholas Hopkins, a monke of an house of the Chartreux order beside Bristow, called Henton, sometime his confessor had opened unto him.

The cardinall having thus taken the examination of Knevet, went unto the king and declared unto him, that his person was in danger by such traitorous purpose, as the duke of Buckingham had conceived in his heart, and shewed how that now there is manifest tokens of his wicked pretense : wherefore he exhorted the king to provide for his own surtie with speed. The king hearing the accusation, inforced to the uttermost by the cardinall, made this answer ; If the duke have deserved to be punished, let him have according to his deserts. The duke hereupon was sent for up to London, & at his comming thither, was streightwaies attached, and brought to the Tower by sir Henry Marneie, capteine of the gard, the sixteenth of Aprill. There was also attached the foresaid Chartreux monke, maister John de la Car alias de la Court, the dukes confessor, and sir Gilbert Perke priest, the dukes chancellor.

After the apprehension of the duke, inquisitions were taken in diverse shires of England of him ; so that by the knights and gentlemen, he was indicted of high treason, for certeine words spoken (as before ye have heard) by the same duke at Blechinglie, to the lord of Aburgavennie : and therewith was the same lord attached for con-celement, and so likewise was the lord Montacute, and both led to the Tower. Sir Edward Nevill, brother of the said lord of Aburgavennie, was forbidden the kings presence. Moreover in the Guildhall, within the citie of London, before John Brugge knight, then lord maior of the same citie, by an inquest whereof one Miles Gerrard was foreman, the said duke was indicted of diverse points of

high treason, as by the same indictment it appeareth . . . [pp. 657, 658].

And furthermore, the same duke on the fourth of November, in the eleventh yere of the kings reigne, at east Greenwich in the countie of Kent, said unto one Charles Knevet esquier, after that the king had reprooved the duke for reteining William Bulmer knight into his service, that if he had perceived that he should have beene committed to the Tower (as he doubted hee should have beene) hee would have so wrought, that the principall dooers therein should not have had cause of great rejoising: for he would have plaied the part which his father intended to have put in practise against king Richard the thrid at Salisburie, who made earnest sute to have come unto the presence of the same king Richard: which sute if he might have obtained, he having a knife secretlie about him, would have thrust it into the bodie of king Richard, as he made semblance to kneele downe before him. And in speaking these words, he maliciouslie laid his hand upon his dagger, and said, that if he were so evill used, he would doo his best to accomplish his pretended purpose, swearing to confirme his word by the bloud of our Lord.

Beside all this, the same duke, the tenth of Maie, in the twelfth yere of the kings reigne, at London in a place called the Rose, within the parish of saint Laurence Poultrie in Canwike street ward, demanded of the said Charles Knevet esquier, what was the talke amongst the Londoners concerning the kings journie beyond the seas? And the said Charles told him, that manie stood in doubt of that journeie, least the Frenchmen meant some deceit towards the king. Whereto the duke answered, that it was to be feared, least it would come to passe, according to the words of a certeine holie moonke. For there is (saith he) a Chartreux moonke, that diverse times hath sent to me, willing me to send unto him my chancellor: and I did send unto him John de la Court my chapleine, unto whome he would not declare anie thing, till de la Court had sworne unto him to keepe all things secret, and to tell no creature living what hee should heare of him, except it were to me.

And then the said moonke told de la Court, that neither the king nor his heires should prosper, and that I should endeavour my selfe to purchase the good wils of the communaltie of England; for I the same duke and my bloud should prosper, and have the rule of the realme of England. Then said Charles Knevet; The moonke maie be deceived through the divels illusion, and that it was evill to meddle with such matters. Well (said the duke) it cannot hurt me, and so (saith the indictment) the duke seemed to rejoyse in the moonks words. And further, at the same time, the duke told the said Charles, that if the king had miscarried now in his last sicknesse, he would have chopped off the heads of the cardinall, of sir Thomas Lovell knight, and of others; and also said that he had rather die for it, than to be used as he had beene.

Moreover, on the tenth daie of September, in the said eleventh yere of this kings reigne, at Blechinglie, in the countie of Surrie, walking in the gallerie there with George Nevill knight, lord Aburgavennie, the duke murmuring against the kings counsellors, and there government, said unto the said George; that if the king died, he would have the rule of the realme in spite of who so ever said the contrarie; . . .

. . . (I trust) I maie without offence saie, that (as the rumour then went) the cardinall chieflie procured the death of this noble man, no lesse favoured and beloved of the people of this realme in that season, than the cardinall himselfe was hated and envied. Which thing caused the dukes fall the more to be pitied and lamented, sith he was the man of all other, that chieflie went about to crosse the cardinall in his lordlie demeanor, & headie proceedings. But to the purpose. Shortlie after that the duke had beene indicted (as before ye have heard) he was arraigned in Westminster hall, before the duke of Norffolke, being made by the kings letters patents high stewaerd of England, to accomplish the high cause of appeale of the peere or peeres of the realme, and to discerne and judge the cause of the peeres. . . . When the lords had taken their place, the duke was brought to the barre, and upon his arraignment pleaded not guiltie, and put himselfe upon his peeres. Then was his indictment read, which the duke denied to be true, and (as he was an eloquent man) alledged reasons to falsifie the indictment; pleading the matter for his own justification verie pithilie and earnestlie. The kings attourneie against the dukes reasons alledged the examinations, confessions, and proofes of witnesses.

The duke desired that the witnesses might bee brought forth. And then came before him Charles Knevet, Perke, de la Court, & Hopkins the monke of the priorie of the Charterhouse beside Bath, which like a false hypocrite had induced the duke to the treason with his false forged prophecies. Diverse presumptions and accusations were laid unto him by Charles Knevet, which he would faine have covered . . . then spake the duke of Norffolke, and said: My Lord, the king our sovereigne lord hath commanded that you shall have his lawes ministred with favour and right to you. Wherefore if you have anie other thing to saie for your selfe, you shall be heard. Then he was commanded to withdraw him. . . .

Thus was this prince duke of Buckingham found giltie of high treason . . . The duke was brought to the barre sore chafing, and swet marvellouslie; & after he had made his reverence, he paused a while. The duke of Norffolke as judge said; Sir Edward, you have heard how you be indicted of high treason, you pleaded there to not giltie, putting yourselfe to the peeres of the realme, which have found you giltie. Then the duke of Norffolke wept and said; You shall be led to the king's prison and there laid on a hardle, and so drawne to the place of execution, and there be hanged, cut downe alive, your

members cut off and cast into the fire, youre bowels burnt before you, your head smitten off, and your bodie quartered and divided at the kings will, and God have mercie on your soule, Amen.

The Duke of Buckingham said, My Lord of Norffolke, you have said as a traitor should be said unto, but I was never anie : but my Lords I nothing maligne for that you have doone to me, but the eternall God forgive you my death, and I doo : I shall never sue to the king for life, howbeit he is a gratiouse prince, and more grace may come from him than I desire. I desire you my lords and all my fellowes to pray for me. Then was the edge of the axe turned towards him, and he was led into a barge. Sir Thomas Lovell desired him to sit on the cushins and carpet ordeined for him. He said nay for when I went to Westminster I was duke of Buckingham, now I am but Edward Bohune the most caitife of the world. Thus they landed at the Temple, where received him sir Nicholas Vawse & sir William Sands baronets, and led him through the citie, who desired ever the people to pray for him, of whome some wept and lamented, and said : This is the end of evill life, God forgive him, he was a proud prince, it is pitie he behaved him so against his king and liege lord, whome God preserve. Thus about foure of the clocke he was brought as a cast man to the Tower.

On fridaie the seventeenth of Maie, about eleven of the clocke, this duke of Buckingham, earl of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton, with a great power was delivered to John Keime & John Skevington shiriffes, who led him to the scaffold on Tower hill, where he said he had offended the kings grace through negligence and lacke of grace, and desired all noble men to beware by him, and all men to pray for him, and that he trusted to die the kings true man. Thus meekelie with an axe he tooke his death [pp. 660-663].

THE FALL OF THE "TRAVELL'D GALLANTS"

DURING this time [1519] remained in the French court diverse yoong gentlemen of England, and they with the French king rode dailie disguised through Paris, throwing eggs, stones, and other foolish trifles at the people, which light demeanour of a king was much discommended and jeasted at. And when these yoong gentlemen came againe into England, they were all French in eating, drinking, and apparell, yea, and in French vices and brags, so that all the estates of England were by them laughed at : the ladies and gentlewomen were despraised, so that nothing by them was praised, but if it were after the French turne, which after turned them to displeasure as you shall heare . . . [p. 635].

In which moneth [May, 1520] the kings councill secretlie communed togither of the kings gentleness and liberalitie to all persons : by the which they perceived that certeine yoong men in his privie chamber, not regarding his estate or degree, were so familiar and homelie with him, that they forgot themselves. Which

things although the king of his gentle nature suffered, and not rebuked nor reprovved it: yet the kings councell thought it not meet to be suffered for the kings honour, and therefore they all together came to the king, beseeching him to have more regard to his roialtie.

To whome the king answered that he had had chosen them of his councell, both for the maintenance of his honour, and for the defense of all things that might blemish the same: wherefore if they saw anie about him misuse themselves, he committed it unto their reformation. Then the kings councell caused the lord chamberleine to call before them diverse of the privie chamber, which had beene in the French court, and banished them the court for diverse considerations, laing nothing particularlie to their charges, & they that had offices were commanded to go to their offices [p. 639].

THE MASQUE (*Holinshed*)

THUS in great honour, triumph, and glorie, he reigned a long season, ruling all things within the realme appertaining unto the king. His house was resorted to with noblemen and gentlemen, feasting and banquetting ambassadors diverse times, and all other right noble . . .

On a time the king came suddenlie thither in a maske with a dozen maskers all in garments like sheepheards, made of fine cloth of gold, and crimosin sattin paned, & caps of the same, with visards of good phynomie, their haire & beards either of fine gold-wire silke, or blacke silke, having sixteene torch-bearers, besides their drums and other persons with visards, all clothed in sattin of the same color. And before his entring into the hall, he came by water to the water gate without anie noise, where were laid diverse chambers and guns charged with shot, and at his landing they were shot off, which made such a rumble in the aire, that it was like thunder: it made all the noblemen, gentlemen, ladies, and gentlewomen, to muse what it should meane, coming so suddenlie, they sitting quiet at a solemne banquet, after this sort.

First yee shall understand, that the tables were set in the chamber of presence just covered, & the lord cardinall sitting under the cloth of estate, there having all his service alone: and then was there set a ladie with a noble man, or a gentleman and a gentlewoman throughout all the tables in the chamber on the one side, which were made and joined as it were but one table, all which order and devise was doone by the lord Sandes then lord chamberleine to the king, and by sir Henrie Gilford comptroller of the kings majesties house. Then immediatlie after the great chamberleine, and the said comptroller, sent to looke what it should meane (as though they knew nothing of the matter) who looking out of the windowes into the Thames, returned againe and shewed him, that it seemed they were noblemen and strangers that arrived at his bridge, comming as ambassadors from some forren prince.

With that (quothe the cardinall) I desire you, bicause you can

speake French, to take the paines to go into the hall, there to receive them according to their estates, and to conduct them into this chamber, where they shall see us, and all theese noble persons being merie at our banket, desiring them to sit downe with us, and to take part of our fare. Then went he incontinent downe into the hall, whereas they received them with twentie new torches, and conveied them up into the chamber, with such a noise of drums and flutes, as seldome had beene heard the like. At their entring into the chamber two and two together, they went directlie before the cardinall, where he sate and saluted him reverentlie.

To whom the lord chamberleine for them said: Sir, for as much as they be strangers, and can not speake English, they have desired me to declare unto you, that they having understanding of this your triumphant banket, where was assembled such a number of excellent dames, they could doo no lesse under support of your grace, but to repaire hither, to view as well their incomparable beautie, as for to accompanie them at mum-chance, and then to danse with them: and sir, they require of your grace licence to accomplish the said cause of their coming. To whom the cardinall said he was verie well content they should so doo. They went the maskers and first saluted the dames. . . .

Then quoth the cardinall to the lord chamberleine, I praie you (quoth he) that you would shew them, that we seemeth there should be a nobleman amongst them, who is more meet to occupie this seat and place than I am, to whome I would most gladlie surrender the same according to my dutie, if I knew him.

Then spake the lord chamberleine to them in French, and they rounding him in the eare, the lord chamberlein said to my lord cardinall: Sir (quoth he) they confesse that among them there is such a noble personage, whom, if your grace can appoint him out from the rest, he is content to disclose himselfe, and to accept your place. With that the cardinall taking good advisement among them, at the last (quoth he) mee seemeth the gentleman with the blacke beard should be even he; and with that he arose out of his chair and offered the same to the gentleman in the blacke beard with his [the cardinall's] cap in his hand. The person to whome he offered the chaire was sir Edward Nevill, a comelie knight, that much more resembled the kings person in that maske than anie other.

The king perceiving the cardinall so deceived, could not forbear laughing, but pulled downe his visar and master Nevills also, and dashed out such a pleasant countenance and cheere, that all the noble estates there assembled, perceiving the king to be there among them, rejoised verie much. The cardinall eftsoons desired his highnesse to take the place of estate. To whom the king answered, that he would go first and shift his apparell, and so departed into my lord cardinalls chamber, and there new apparelled him: in which time the dishes of the banket were cleane taken up, and the tables

spredd againe with new cleane perfumed cloths, everie man and woman sitting still, untill the king with all his maskers came among them againe all new apparellled.

Then the king tooke his seat under the cloth of estate, commanding everie person to sit still as they did before : in came a new banket before the king, and to all the rest throughout all the tables, wherein were served two hundred diverse dishes, of costlie devises and subtilties, thus passed they forth the night with banketting, dānsing, and other triumphs, to the great comfort of the king, and pleasant regard of the nobilitie there assembled. And thus spent this cardinall his time from daie to daie, and yeare to yeare, in such wealth, joie, triumph, and glorie, having alwaies on his side the kings especiall favour, untill fortune envied his prosperitie, and overthrew all the foundations of his glorie [pp. 763-765].

DR. PACE

THIS Pace was a right worthy man, and one that gave in counsell faithfull advise. Learned he was also, and indeed with many excellent good gifts of nature, courteous, pleasant, and delighting in musike, highlie in the kings favour, and well heard in matters of weight. But the more the prince favoured him, the more was he misliked of the cardinall, who sought onelie to beare all the rule himselfe, and to have no partener ; so that he procured that this doctor Pace under colour of ambassage, should be sent forth of the realme that his presence about the king should not win him too much authoritie and favour at the kings hands [pp. 674, 5].

THE FALL OF WOLSEY

WHILEST these things were thus in hand, the cardinall of Yorke was advised that the king had set his affection upon a yoong gentlewoman named Anne, the daughter of sir Thomas Bullen vicount Rochford, which did wait upon the queene. This was a great grieve unto the cardinall, as he that perceived aforehand, that the king would marie the said gentlewoman, if the divorce tooke place. Wherefore he began with all diligence to disappoint that match, which by reason of the misliking that he had to the woman, he judged ought to be avoided more than present death. While the matter stood in this state, and that the cause of the queene was to be heard and judged at Rome, by reason of the appeale which by hir was put in : the cardinall required the pope by letters and secret messengers, that in anie wise he should defer the judgment of the divorce, till he might frame the kings mind to his purpose.

Howbeit he went about nothing so secretlie, but that the same came to the king's knowledge, who tooke so high displeasure with such his cloked dissimulation, that he determined to abase his de-

gree, sith as an unthankfull person he forgot himselfe and his dutie towards him that had so highlie advanced him to all honor and dignitie. When the nobles of the realme perceived the cardinall to be in displeasure, they began to accuse him of such offenses, as they knew might be proved against him, and thereof they made a booke conteyning certeine articles, to which diverse of the king's counsell set their hands. The king understanding more plainlie by those articles, the great pride, presumption, and covetousnesse of the cardinall, was sore mooved against him ; but yet kept his purpose secret for a while. Shortlie after, a parlement was called to begin at Westminster the third of November next insuing [1529].

In the meane time the king, being informed that all those things that the cardinall had doone by his power legantine within this realme, were in the case of the premunire and provision, caused his attorneie Christopher Hales to sue out a writ of premunire against him, in the which he licenced him to make his attorneie. And further the seventeenth of November the king sent the two dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke to the cardinals place at Westminster, who (went as they were commanded) and finding the cardinall there, they declared that the kings pleasure was that he should surrender up the great scale into their hands, and to depart simple unto Asher, which was an house situat nigh unto Hampton court, belonging to the bishoprike of Winchester. The cardinall demanded of them their commission that gave them such authoritie, who answered againe that they were sufficient commissioners and had authoritie to doo no lesse by the kings mouth. Notwithstanding, he would in no wise agree in that behalfe, without further knowledge of their authoritie saieng ; that the great seale was delivered him by the kings person, to injoy the ministration thereof, with the roome of the chancellor for the terme of his life, whereof for his suertie he had the kings letters patents.

This matter was greatlie debated betweene them with manie great words, in so much that the dukes were faine to depart againe without their purpose, and rode to Windsore to the king, and made report accordnglie ; but the next daie they returned againe, bringing with them the kings letters. Then the cardinall delivered unto them the great seale, and was content to depart simple, taking with him nothing but onlie certeine provision for his house : and after long talke betweene him and the dukes, they departed with the great seale of England, and brought the same to the king. Then the cardinall called all his officers before him, and tooke accompt of them for all such stuffe, whereof they had charge. . . .

After this, in the kings bench his matter for the premunire, being called upon, two attorneis, which he had authorised by his warrant signed withe his owne hand, confessed the action, and so had judgement to forfeit all his lands, tenements, goods, and cattels, and to be out of the kings protection : but the king of his clemencie sent to him a sufficient protection, and left to him the bishoprikes

of Yorke and Winchester, with plate and stuffe convenient for his degree.

The bishoprike of Duresme was given to doctor Tunstall bishop of London. . . . Also the bishoprike of London being now void, was bestowed on doctor Slokesleie, then ambassadour to the universities beyond the sea for the kings mariage [pp. 740-742].

On the foure & twentieth of November, was sir Thomas Moore made lord Chancellor, & the next day led to the chancerie by the dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, and there sworne [p. 743].

During this parlement [1529] was brought down to the commons the booke of articles, which the lords had put to the king against the cardinall, the chiefe whereof were these. •

1. First, that he without the kings assent had procured to be a legat, by reason whereof he tooke awaie the right of all bishops and spirituall persons.

2. Item, in all writings which he wrote to Rome, or anie other forreñ prince, he wrote Ego & rex meus, I and my king: as who would saie, that the king were his servant.

4. Item, he without the kings assent carried the kings great seale with him into Flanders, when he was sent ambassador to the emperour.

7. Item, that he caused the cardinals hat to be put on the kings coine.

9. Item, that he had sent innumerable substance to Rome, for the obtaining of his dignities, to the great impoverishment of the realme.

These articles with manie more, read in the common house, and signed with the cardinals hand, was confessed by him. And also there was shewed a writing sealed with his seale, by the which he gave to the king all his mooveables and unmooveables [p. 747].

You have heard how the cardinall was attainted in the pre-munire, and how he was put out of the office of the chancellor, & laie at Asher.

In this Lent season the king by the advise of his counsell licenced him to go into his diocesse of Yorke, & gave him commandement to keepe him in his diocesse.

• • • But at this time diverse of his servants departed from him to the kings service, and in especiall Thomas Crumwell one of his chiefe counsell, and chiefe doer for him in the suppression of abbeies. . . . But the lands which he had given to his colleges in Oxford and Ipswich, were now come to the kings hands, by his atteindor in the premunire: and yet the king of his gentlenesse and for favour that he bare to good learning, erected againe the college

in Oxford, and where it was named the cardinals college, he called it the kings college, & indowed it with faire possessions, and put in new statutes and ordinances. And for bicause the college of Ipswich was thought to be nothing profitable, therefore he left that dissolved [pp. 748, 749].

At the last maister Walsh being entred the cardinals chamber, began to plucke off his hood, and after kneeled to the cardinall. Unto whom the cardinall said, Come hither gentlemen, & let me speake with you : Sir, heere my lord of Northumberland hath arrested me [p. 753].

Then said master Kingston with humble reverence : Sir, the king hath him commended unto you. I thank his highnesse quoth the cardinall, I trust he be in health. Yea (quoth master Kingston) and he commanded me to say to you, that you should assure your selfe that he beareth you as much good will as ever he did, and willethe you to be of good cheere. And where report hath beene made, that ye should commit against him certeine heinous crimes, which he thinks to be untrue, yet he can doo no lesse than send for you to your triall, & to take your journeie to him at your owne pleasure. . . . Master Kingston (quoth he) I thanke you for your newes, and sir, if I were as lustie as I have beene but of late, I would ride with you in post, but I am diseased with a flux that maketh me verie weake, but I shall with all speed make me readie to ride with you to-morrow [p. 754].

. . . The next daie he rode to Notingham, and there lodged that night more sicke : and the next daie he rode to Leicester abbeie, and by the waie waxed so sicke that he was almost fallen from his mule ; so that it was night before he came to the abbeie of Leicester, where at his comming in at the gates, the abbat with all his convent met him with diverse torch light, whom they honorable received and welcomed.

To whome the cardinall said : father abbat, I am come to lay my bones among you, riding so still untill he came to the staires of the chamber, where he allighted from his mule, and master Kingston led him up the staires, and as soon as he was in his chamber he went to bed. This was on the saturday at night, and then increased he sicker and sicker, until mondaie that all men thought he would have died, so on tuesdaie saint Andrewes even, master Kingston came to him and bade him good morrow, for it was about six of the clocke, and asked him how he did ? Sir (quoth he) I tarrie but the pleasure of God, to render up my poore soule into his hands. . . . Sir (quoth maister Kingston) you be in much pensivenes, doubting that thing that in good faith yee need not. Well, well, master Kingston (quoth the cardinall) I see the matter how it is framed : but if I had served God as diligentlie as I have done the king, he would not have given me over in my greie haire : . . .

. . . Then they did put him in remembrance of Christ his passion

. . . and incontinent the clocke stroke eight, and then he gave up the ghost and departed this present life: which caused some to call to remembrance how he said the daie before, that at eight of the clocke they should loose their master [p. 755].

This cardinall (as Edmund Campian in his historie of Ireland describeth him) was a man undoubtedly borne to honor: I thinke (saith he) some princes bastard, no butchers sonne, exceeding wise, faire spoken, high minded, full of revenge, vitious of his bodie, loftie to his enimies, were they never so big, to those that accepted and sought his freendship woonderful courteous, a ripe schooleman, thrall to affections, brought a bed with flatterie, insatiable to get, and more princelie in bestowing, as appeareth by his two colleges at Ipswich and Oxenford, the one overthrowne with his fall, the other unfinished, and yet as it lieth for an house of students, considering all the appurtenances incomparable thorough Christendome, whereof Henry the eight is now called founder, because he let it stand . . . a great prefferer of his servants, an advancer of learning, stout in everie quarell, never happie till this his overthrow. Wherein he showed such moderation, and ended so perfectlie, that the houre of his death did him more honor, than all the pompe of his life passed [p. 756].

This cardinall . . . was of a great stomach, for he compted himselfe equall with princes, & by craftie suggestion got into his hands innumerable treasure: he forced little on simonie, and was not pittifull, and stood affectionate in his owne opinion: in open presence he would lie and saie untruth, and was double both in speech and meaning: he would promise much & performe little: he was vicious of his bodie, and gave the clergie evil example [p. 765].

* THE DIVORCE AND DEATH OF KATHARINE (*Holinshed*)

YE heave heard how the people talked a little before the cardinals going over into France the last yeare, that the king was told by doctor Longland bishop of Lincolne and others, that his mariage with queene Katharine could not be good nor lawfull. The truth is, that whether this doubt was first mooved by the cardinall, or by the said Longland, being the kings confessor, that the king was not onlie brought in doubt, whether it was a lawfull marriage or no; but also determined to have the case examined, cleered, and adjudged by learning, law, and sufficient authoritie. The cardinall verelie was put in most blame for this scruple now cast into the kings conscience, for the hate he bare to the emperor, because he would not grant to him the archbishoprike of Toledo, for the which he was a suter. And therefore he did not onlie procure the king of England to joine in freendship with the French king, but also sought a divorce betwixt the king and the queene, that the king might have had in marriage the duchesse of Alanson, sister unto the French king: (and as some

have thought) he travelled in that matter with the French king at Amiens, but the duchesse would not give eare thereunto.

But howsoever it came about, that the king was thus troubled in conscience concerning his marriage, this followed, that like a wise & sage prince, to have the doubt cleerelie remooved, he called together the best learned of the realme, which were of severall opinions. Wherefore he thought to know the truth by indifferent judges, least peradventure the Spaniards, and other also in favour of the queene would saie, that his owne subjects were not indifferent judges in this behalfe. And therefore he wrote his cause to Rome, and also sent to all the universities in Italie and France, and to the great clearkes of all christenedome, to know their opinions, and desired the court of Rome to send into his realme a legat, which should be indifferent, and of a great and profound judgement, to heare the cause debated. At whose request the whole consistorie of the college of Rome sent thither Laurence Campeius, a preest cardinall, a man of great wit and experience which was sent hither before in the tenth yeare of this king, . . . and with him was joined in commission the cardinall of Yorke and legat of England.

This cardinall came to London in October [1528] . . . And because the king meant nothing but uprightly therein, and knew well that the queene was somewhat wedded to hir owne opinion, and wished that she should do nothing without counsell, he bad hir choose the best clearks of his realme to be of hir counsell, and licenced them to doo the best on hir part that they could, according to the truth.

. . . About this time the king received into his favour doctor Stephan Gardiner, whose service he used in matters of great secrecie and weight, admitting him in the roome of doctor Pace, the which being continually abroad in ambassages, and the same oftentimes not much necessarie, by the cardinals appointment, at length he tooke such greefe therewith, that he fell out of his right wits. The place where the cardinals should sit to heare the cause of matrimonie betwixt the king and the queene, was ordeined to be at the Blacke friers in London, where in the great hall was preparations made of seats, tables, and other furniture, according to such a solemne session and roiall apparance. The court was platted in tables and benches in manner of a consistorie, one seat raised higher for the judges to sit in. Then as it were in the midst of the said judges aloft above them three degrees high, was a cloth of state hanged, with a chair roiall under the same, wherein sat the king; and besides him, some distance from him sat the queene, and under the judges feet sat the scribes and other officers: the cheefe scribe was doctor Steevens and the caller of the court was one Cooke of Winchester.

Then before the king and the judges within the court sat the archbishop of Canterburie Warham, and all the other bishops. Then stood at both ends within, the counsellors learned in the spirituall laws, as well the kings as the queenes. . . . The judges commanded

silence whilst their commission was read, both to the court and to the people assembled. That doone the scribes commanded the crier to call the king by the name of king Henrie of England, come into the court, &c. With that the king answered and said, Heere. Then called he the queene by the name of Katharine queene of England come into the court, &c. Who made no answer, but rose out of hir chaire.

And bicause she could not come [to] the king directlie, shee went about by the court, and came to the king, kneeling downe at his feet, to whom she said in effect as followeth: Sir (quoth she) I desire you to doo me justice and right, and take some pitie upon me, for I am a poore woman, and a stranger borne out of your dominion, having heere no indifferent counsell, & lesse assurance of freendship. Alas sir, what have I offended you, or what occasion of displeasure have I shewed you, intending thus to put me from you after this sort? I take God to my judge, I have beene to you a true & humble wife, ever conformable to your will and pleasure, that never contraried or gainesaid any thing thereof, and being alwaies contented with all things wherein you had any delight, whether little or much, without grudge or displeasure, I loved for your sake all them whome you loved, whether they were my freends or enemies.

I have beene your wife these twentie yeares and more, & you have had by me diverse children. If there be any just cause that you can allege against me, either of dishonestie, or matter lawfull to put me from you; I am content to depart to my shame and rebuke: but if there be none, then I praye you to let me have justice at your hand. The king your father was in his time of excellent wit, and the king of Spain my father Ferdinando was reckoned one of the wisest princes that reigned in Spaine manie yeares before. It is not to be doubted, but that they had gathered as wise counsellors unto them of everie realme, as to their wisdoms they thought meet, who deemed the marriage betwene you and me good and lawfull, &c. Wherefore I humbly desire you to spare me, untill I may know what counsell my frends in Spaine will advertise me to take, and if you will not, then your pleasure be fulfilled. With that she rose up, making a lowe curtesie to the king, and departed from thence.

The king being advertised that shee was readie to go out of the house, commanded the crier to call hir againe, who called hir by these words; Katharine queene of England, come in to the court. With that (quoth maister Griffith) madame, you be called againe. On on (quoth [sic] she) it maketh no matter, I will not tarrie, go on your waies. And thus she departed, without anie further answer at that time, or anie other, and never would appeare after in anie court. The king perceiving she was departed, said these words in effect: For as much (quoth he) as the queene is gone, I will in hir absence declare to you all, that shee hath beene to me as true, as obedient, and as conformable a wife, as I should wish or desire. She hath

all the vertuous qualities that ought to be in a woman of hir dignitie, or in anie other of a baser estate, she is also surelie a noble woman borne, hir conditions will well declare the same.

With that quoth Wolseie the cardinall: sir, I most humble require your highnesse, to declare before all this audience, whether I have beene the cheefe and first moover of this matter unto your majestie or no, for I am greatlie suspected heerein. My lord cardinall (quoth the king) I can well excuse you in this matter, marrie, (quoth he) you have beene rather against mee in the tempting heereof, than a setter forward or moover of the same. The speciall cause that mooved me unto this matter, was a certeine scrupulositie that pricked my conscience, upon certeine words spoken at a time when it was, by the bishop of Baion the French ambassador, who had beene hither sent, upon the debating of a marriage to be concluded betweene our daughter the ladie Marie, and the duke of Orleance, second son to the King of France.

Upon the resolution and determination whereof, he desired respite to advertise the King his maister thereof, whether our daughter Marie should be legitimate in respect of this my marriage with this woman, being sometimes my brothers wife. Which words once conceived within the secret bottome of my conscience, ingendred such a scrupulous doubt, that my conscience was incontinentlie accombred, vexed, and disquieted; whereby I thought my selfe to be greatlie in danger of Gods indignation. Which appeared to me (as me seemed) the rather, for that he sent us no issue male: and all such issues male as my said wife had by me, died incontinent after they came into the world, so that I doubted the great displeasure of God in that behalfe.

Thus my conscience being tossed in the waves of a scrupulous mind, and partlie in despaire to have anie other issue than I had alredie by this ledie now my wife, it behooved me further to consider the state of this realme, and the danger it stood in for lacke of a prince to succeed me, I thought it good in release of the weightie burthen of my weake conscience, & also the quiet estate of this worthie relme, to attempt the law therein, whether I may lawfullie take another wife more lawfullie, by whom God may send me more issue, in case this my first copulation was not good, without anie carnall concupiscence, and not for anie displeasure or misliking of the queenes person and age, with whome I would be as well contented to continue, if our mariage may stand with the laws of God, as with anie woman alive. . . .

Wherein, after that I perceived my conscience so doubtfull, I mooved it in confession to you my lord of Lincolne then ghostlie father. And for so much as then you your selfe were in some doubt, you mooved me to aske the counsell of all these my lords: whereupon I mooved you my lord of Canturburie, first to have your licence, in as much as you were metropolitane, to put this matter in question,

and so I did of all you my lords: to which you granted under your seales, heere to be shewed. That is truth, quoth the archbishop of Canturburie. After that the king rose up and the court was adjourned untill another daie.

Heere is to be noted, that the queene in presence of the whole court most greivously accused the cardinall of untruth, deceit, wickednesse, & malice, which had sowne dissention betwixt hir and the king hir husband; and therefore openlie protested, that she did utterly abhorre, refuse, and forsake such a judge, as was not onlie a most malicious enimie to hir, but also a manifest adversarie to all right and justice, and therewith did she appeale unto the pope, committing his whole cause to be judged of him. But notwithstanding this appeale, the legats sat weekelie. . . . The king would gladlie have had an end in the matter, but when the legats drave time, and determined on no certeine point, he conceived a suspicion, that this was doone of purpose, that their dooings might draw to none effect or conclusion.

. . . And thus this court passed from sessions to sessions, and daie to daie, till at certeine of their sessions the king sent the two cardinalls to the queene (who was then in Bridewell) to persuade with hir by their wisdoms, and to advise hir to surrender the whole matter into the kings hands by hir owne consent & will, which should be much better to hir honour, than to stand to the triall of law, and thereby to be condemned, which should seem much to hir dishonour.

The cardinals being in the queens chamber of presence, the gentleman usher advertised the queene that the cardinals were come to speak with hir. With that she rose up & with a skeine of white thred about hir necke, came into hir chamber of presence, where the cardinals were attending. At whose comming, quoth she, What is your pleasure with me? If it please your grace (quoth cardinall Wolseie) to go into your privie chamber, we will show you the cause of our comming. My lord (quoth she) if yee have anie thing to saie, speake it openlie before all these folke, for I feare nothing that yee can saie against me, but that I would all the world should heare and see it, and therefore speake your mind. Then began the cardinall to speak to hir in Latine. Naie good my lord (quoth she) speake to me in English.

Forsooth (quoth the cardinall) good madame, if it please you, we come both to know your mind how you are disposed to doo in this matter betweene the king and you, and also to declare secretlie our opinions and counsell unto you: which we doo onlie for verie zeale and obedience we beare unto your grace. My lord (quoth she) I thanke you for your good will, but to make you answer in your request I cannot so suddenlie, for I was set among my maids at worke, thinking full little of anie such matter, wherein there needeth a longer deliberation, and a better head than mine to make answer, for I need counsell in this case which toucheth me so neere, & for

anie counsell or freendship that I can find in England, they are not for my profit. What thinke you my lords, will anie Englishman counsell me, or be friend to me against the K. pleasure that is his subject? Nay forsooth. And as for my counsell in whom I will put my trust, they be not here, they be in Spaine in my owne countrie.

And my lords, I am a poore woman lacking wit, to answer to anie such noble persons of wisdom as you be, in so weightie a matter, therefore I pray you be good to me poore woman, destitute of freends here in a forren region, and your counsell also I will be glad to heare. And therewith she tooke the cardinall by the hand, and led him into hir privie chamber with the other cardinall, where they tarried a season talking with the queene. Which communication ended, they departed to the king making him relation of hir talke. Thus this case went forward from court to court, till it came to judgement, so that everie man expected that judgement would be given the next day. At which daie the king came thither, and set him down in a chaire within a doore, in the end of the gallerie (which opened directlie against the judgement seat) to heare the judgement given; at which time all their proceedings were red in Latine.

That doone, the kings counsell at the barre called for judgment. With that (quoth cardinal Campeius) I will not give judgement till I have made relation to the pope of all our proceedings, whose counsell and commandement in this case I will observe: the case is verie doubtfull and also the partie defendant will make no answer here, but dooth rather appeale from us, supposing that we be not indifferent. Wherefore I will adjourne this court for this time, according to the order of the court of Rome. And with that the court was dissolved and no more doone. This protracting of the conclusion of the matter, king Henrie tooke verie displeasantie. Then cardinal Campeius took his leave of the king and nobility, and returned towards Rome [pp. 736-740].

The princesse Dowager lieng at Kimbalton, fell into hir last sicknesse, whereof the king being advertised, appointed the emperors ambassador that was legier here with him named Eustachius Caputius to go to visit hir, and to doo his commendations to hir, and will hir to be of good comfort. The ambassador with all diligence did his dutie therein, comforting hir the best he might: but she within six daies after, perceiving hir selfe to wax verie weak and feeble, and to feelee death approaching at hand, caused one of hir gentlewomen to write a letter to the king, commending to him hir daughter and his, beseeching him to stand good father unto hir: and further desired him to have some consideration for hir gentlewomen that had served hir, and to see them bestowed in marriage. Further that it would please him to appoint that hir servants might have their due wages, and a yeeres wages beside. This in effect was all that she requested [p. 795].

QUEEN KATHARINE'S LETTER TO KING HENRY

(*Lord Herbert's Translation, Quoted by Malone*)

"My most dear lord, king, and husband, the hour of my death now approaching, I cannot choose but, out of the love I bear you, advise you of your soul's health, which you ought to prefer before all other considerations of the world or flesh whatsoever: for which yet you have cast me into many calamities, and yourself into many troubles.—But I forgive you all, and pray God to do so likewise. For the rest, I commend unto you Mary our daughter, beseeching you to be a good father to her, as I have heretofore desired. I must entreat you also to respect my maids, and give them in marriage, (which is not much, they being but three,) and to all my other servants a year's pay besides their due, lest otherwise they should be unprovided for. Lastly, I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things. Farewell."

THE CITATION OF CRANMER (*Fox*)

NOTWITHSTANDING, not long after that, certain of the council, whose names need not be repeated, by the enticement and provocation of his ancient enemy the bishop of Winchester, and others [other, ed. 1577] of the same sect, attempted the king against him, declaring plainly, that the realm was so infected with heresies and heretics, that it was dangerous for his highness further to permit it unreformed, lest peradventure by long suffering, such contention should arise and ensue in the realm among his subjects, that thereby might spring horrible commotions and uproars, like as in some parts of Germany it did not long ago: the enormity whereof they could not impute to any so much, as to the archbishop of Canterbury, who by his own preaching and his chaplains, had filled the whole realm full of divers pernicious heresies. The king would needs know his accusers. They answered that forasmuch as he was a councillor, no man durst take upon him to accuse him; but if it would please his highness to commit him to the Tower for a time, there would be accusations and proofs enow against him: for otherwise, just testimony and witness against him would not appear, "and therefore your highness," said they, "must needs give us the council liberty and leave to commit him to durance."

The king perceiving their importunate [importune, ed. 1577] suit against the archbishop (but yet meaning not to have him wronged, and utterly given over into their hands), granted unto them that they should the next day commit him to the Tower for his trial. When night came the king sent sir Anthony Denny about midnight to Lambeth to the archbishop, willing him forthwith to resort unto him at the court. The message done, the archbishop speedily addressed himself to the court, and comming into the gallery where the king

walked, and tarried for him, his highness said, "Ah, my lord of Canterbury! I can tell you news. For divers weighty considerations it is determined by me, and the council, that you to-morrow, at nine of the clock, shall be committed to the Tower, for that you and your chaplains (as information is given us) have taught and preached, and thereby sown within the realm, such a number of execrable heresies, that it is feared, the whole realm being infected with them, no small contentions and commotions will rise thereby amongst my subjects, as of late days the like was in divers parts of Germany: and therefore the council have requested me, for the trial of the matter, to suffer them to commit you to the Tower, or else no man dare come forth as witness in these matters, you being a councillor."

When the king had said his mind, the archbishop kneeled down and said, "I am content, if it please your grace, with all my heart, to go thither at your highness's [hyghnes, ed. 1577] commandment. And I most humbly thank your majesty that I may come to my trial; for there be that have many ways slandered me: and now this way I hope to try myself not worthy of such report."

The king perceiving the man's uprightness, joined with such simplicity, said, "O Lord, what manner a man be you! What simplicity is in you! I had thought that you would rather have sued to us to have taken the pains to have heard you and your accusers together for your trial, without any such endurance [indurance, ed. 1577]. Do you not know, what state you be in with the whole world, and how many great enemies you have? Do you not consider what an easy thing it is, to procure three or four false knaves to witness against you? Think you to have better luck that way than your Master Christ had? I see by it you will run headlong to your undoing, if I would suffer you. Your enemies shall not so prevail against you, for I have otherwise devised with myself to keep you out of their hands. Yet notwithstanding to-morrow, when the council shall sit, and send for you, resort unto them, and if in charging you with this matter they do commit you to the Tower, require of them, because you are one of them, a councillor, that you may have your accusers brought before them . . . without any further endurance [indurance, ed. 1577], and use for yourself as good persuasions that way as you may devise; and if no entreaty or reasonable request will serve, then deliver unto them this my ring (which then the king delivered unto the archbishop) and say unto them, 'If there be no remedy, my lords, but that I must needs go to the Tower, then I revoke my cause from you, and appeal to the king's own person by this his token unto you all,' for (said the king then unto the archbishop) so soon as they shall see this my ring, they know it so well, that they shall understand that I have resumed the whole cause into mine own hands and determination, and that I have discharged them thereof."

The archbishop, perceiving the king's benignity so much to him-

wards, had much ado to forbear tears. "Well," said the king, "go your ways, my lord, and do as I have bidden you." My lord, humbling himself with thanks, took his leave of the king's highness for that night.

On the morrow about nine of the clock before noon, the council sent a gentleman-usher for the archbishop, who when he came to the council-chamber door, could not be let in; but of purpose (as it seemed) was compelled there to wait among the pages, lackeys, and serving men all alone. Dr. Buts the king's physician resorting that way, and espying how my lord of Canterbury was handled, went to the king's highness, and said, "My lord of Canterbury, if it please your grace, is well promoted; for now he is become a lackey or a serving-man: for yonder he standeth this half hour without the council-chamber door amongst them." "It is not so," quoth the king, "I trow; the council hath not so little discretion as to use the metropolitan of the realm in that sort, specially being one of their own number. But let them alone," said the king, "and we shall hear more soon."

Anon the archbishop was called into the council-chamber, to whom was alleged, as before is rehearsed. The archbishop answered in like sort as the king had advised him; and in the end, when he perceived that no manner of persuasion or entreaty could serve, he delivered them the king's ring, revoking his cause into the king's hands. The whole council being thereat somewhat amazed, the earl of Bedford with a loud voice, confirming his words with a solemn oath, said, "When you first began this matter, my lords, I told you what would come of it. Do you think that the king will suffer this man's finger to ache? Much more, I warrant you, will he defend his life against brabbling varlets! You do but cumber yourselves to hear tales and fables against him." And so incontinently upon receipt of the king's token, they all rose, and carried to the king his ring, surrendering that matter, as the order and use was, into his own hands.

When they were all come to the king's presence, his highness with a severe countenance said unto them, "Ah, my lords! I thought I had had wiser men of my council than now I find you. What discretion was this in you, thus to make the primate of the realm, and one of you in office, to wait at the council-chamber door amongst serving men? You might have considered that he was a councillor, as well as you, and you had no such commission of me so to handle him. I was content that you should try him as a councillor, and not as a mean subject. But now I well perceive that things be done against him maliciously, and if some of you might have had your minds, you would have tried him to the uttermost. But I do you all to wit, and protest, that if a prince may be beholden [beholdyng, ed. 1577] unto his subject (and so solemnly laying his hand upon his breast, said) . . . I take this man here, my lord

of Canterbury, to be of all other a most faithful subject unto us, and one to whom we are much beholden" [beholdyng, ed. 1577]; giving him great commendations otherwise. And with that one or two of the chiefest of the council, making their excuse, declared, that in requesting his endurance [indurance, ed. 1577], it was rather meant for his trial, and his purgation against the common fame and slander of the world, than for any malice conceived against him. "Well, well, my lords," quoth the king, "take him and well use him, as he is worthy to be, and make no more ado." And with that every man caught him by the hand, and made fair weather of altogether, which might easily be done with that man.

[*Acts and Monuments*, pp. 24-26.]

